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BULGARIAN MINISTER STRESSES POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF MADRID

AU151921 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] Madrid, 15 Nov (BTA)--At today's plenary session the head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, expressed Bulgaria's stand on the problems to be discussed at the main Madrid meeting.

"The principles of the Final Act as a whole are being ever more profoundly established as a solid basis for the development of peaceful and reciprocally advantageous relations between the European states," stressed the Bulgarian representative. "Life has proved that the recognition of realities created after World War II is one of the primary conditions for consolidation of trust, mutual understanding and cooperation between the nations."

Mr Ivanov stressed further that along with these positive phenomena in Europe there is also anxiety and concern over the fact that in recent years the forces which oppose detente are getting increasingly active--forces backing the revival of the spirit of "cold war" in the East-West relations. The Bulgarian representative underlined that, hiding behind a screen of groundless allegations, these forces are plotting anew and are embarking on actions leading to escalation of the arms race, to disruption of the existing military party, to a policy of pressure, confrontation and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

"The Bulgarian delegation is compelled to note that echoes of this policy have reached the present forum. With arbitrary fact-twisting and interference in the relations of agreement between sovereign states some delegates at the forum have started to fan out anew and to a purpose the so-called 'Afghan issue.' Bulgaria's position on this issue is generally known. We have no doubts of the legality and necessity of Soviet help to the Afghan people. We firmly reject every attempt to impose on our discussion this artificially created issue which is not only beyond the framework of this meeting but also beyond the boundaries of our continent," Mr Ivanov continued.

"We must note with regret that under the excuse of standing in defense of human rights there were attempts already at the start of our meeting to use it for purposes which have nothing in common either with the noble goals of humanism, or with this forum's tasks, or the interests of peace, security and cooperation in Europe," underlined Mr Mariy Ivanov further. "Life has proved that this approach threatens with futile disputes and confrontations, that it inevitably leads to poisoning out the atmosphere of international meetings. We would like to believe that common sense prevail, that the present meeting will not be led into a blind alley and that we will succeed in rendering a fresh impetus to the all-European process."

The head of the Bulgarian delegation stated further that the positive contribution of the Madrid meeting is possible only if all the participant-states show constructive political will to solve the problem under discussion in the spirit of mutual respect and respect for the legitimate interests of their partners and noninterference in their internal affairs.

The first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria pointed out that it is necessary to pay special attention to the problems of military detente in Europe. According to the Bulgarian Government, the Madrid meeting's primary task is to decide on calling a military detente and disarmament conference in Europe, specifying its regulations, terms and venue.

"We are all aware of the difficulties facing us to this end but our former achievements inspire us with confidence that with goodwill the present meeting can be led to a successful outcome, which will facilitate the further continuation of the manysided all-European process started in Helsinki," underlined the Bulgarian representative.

KROLIKOWSKI PRESENTS GDR VIEWS ON AIM, SCOPE OF MADRID

LD142125 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1420 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] Madrid 14 Nov (ADN)--Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and GDR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, on Friday at the Madrid meeting stated:

1. The GDR delegation would like to express first of all its sincere thanks to the government and people of Spain for the hospitality and the working conditions which have been created. They have established an outstanding framework in order to carry out the work of the Madrid meeting successfully.

We listened with great attention to the words of greeting by the Spanish prime minister, and understand them as an urgent appeal for businesslike and constructive work marked by commonsense, which should fully accord with the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

2. We will hardly be tempted to overestimate the work facing the delegations when we state that these days the attention of the international public is directed on this conference center in the Spanish capital to a special degree.

The meeting in Madrid, as a further normal meeting of the participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as laid down in the Helsinki Final Act has become an important yardstick concerning the political will and maturity of the participating states. It is to make an effective contribution towards the continuation of detente, also of military detente, and to provide fresh impulses to the continuation of this process.

It can be noted with full justice that the Helsinki conference and its results have contributed toward making peace in Europe more secure and cooperation between states with different social systems more fruitful. The favorable effects which emanated from the confirmation of territorial and political realities which came into being following the results of World War II and postwar developments in Europe today are incalculable.

The peoples feel daily in large and small matters the positive effects which have emanated from the Helsinki conference. Much has been achieved. All that has led toward it is that detente has established deep roots in the conscience and in the life of the peoples. For 35 years the most important human right--the right to live in peace--has been safeguarded in Europe. This affects directly and primarily the interests of the people. It corresponds with their wishes and aspirations at present and in the future.

As a member state of the Warsaw pact, the GDR was and is committed to this policy in the closest cooperation with its allies. Its foreign policy is marked by straightforwardness, reliability, prudence and activity. This applies to times of peaceful living together, and it applies especially in times of tension and danger, as we are experiencing at present.

The Helsinki Final Act, is and will always remain for the GDR a charter of peace and security and a long-term, constructive and concrete program for sincere cooperation between states with differeing social systems.

The principles and recommendations of the Final Act must be for no one a "mere piece of paper," but must be a charge and obligation.

"Helsinki," as was emphasized by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in his speech at the summit meeting in the Finnish capital, "is not a full-stop but a prelude for fresh initiatives." The GDR, in accordance with this programmatic declaration, has tackled from the very first day the realization of the Final Act in all its parts, from the code of principles to humanitarian questions.

This is proven by solid results to which we can point 5 years after Helsinki.

The political relations between the GDR and the overwhelming majority of the participating states have been considerably further and comprehensively developed and to mutual advantage. Important impulses for the development of bilateral relations and with them for the improvement of the European climate have emanated from the meetings between the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, with leading representatives of the participating states of the European security conference.

The contacts established at the highest level in Helsinki are bearing fruit. They strengthen mutual trust and stimulate cooperation.

The state visit by the chairman of the GDR State Council to the Austrian republic, which ended yesterday, is a graphic example of trustful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Numerous meetings of the GDR foreign minister, other ministers and parliamentarians with representatives of member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe correspond to the desire for better cooperation and international friendship.

The system of interstate treaties and agreements of our state has been developed on a large scale during the past 5 years. The more than 160 treaties and agreements, which the GDR has concluded since Helsinki with the majority of Western states, concern all aspects of the Final Act. They form an important basis for businesslike cooperation in the economic, technical, cultural and humanitarian fields. The GDR has made an extensive contribution in these fields.

For instance, it has done more than some NATO states in putting into practice the provisions regarding contacts and the exchange of information. Attention should be drawn in this context to the fact that the same circles have never tired and still do not tire of slandering the socialist states and their policy, and indeed of interfering in their internal affairs.

In this, yesterday's statement by the FRG foreign minister is a graphic example. We rejected this as a piece of gross interference in the internal affairs of the GDR. The measures that have been taken concerning the minimum exchange requirement for citizens from nonsocialist countries are in the interest of the GDR and its citizens. They prevent speculation and manipulation with our currency. Like any other state the GDR makes its own sovereign decisions concerning questions of its foreign exchange policy. Is there any state in which its citizens are asked to bear the cost of visits by foreigners?

To put the record straight, let it be stated here moreover that the GDR has done more for the development of visitor's traffic since the Helsinki conference than is called for under existing agreements and which can perhaps be justified in view of the attitude of the FRG. Does the FRG foreign minister think that the purpose of this conference is furthered by slanders and attempts at interfering in the affairs of others, or are these not bound to have a negative effect on it? Or is this perhaps what is intended?

The GDR, on the other hand, strictly adheres to international usage, while legislation concerning its internal affairs as well as its application does not merely fully accord with the provisions of the Final Act but go far beyond it. All this has helped to strengthen the material foundations of detente in Europe. If the NATO partners were to act likewise and not indulge in untenable accusations, the record would indeed be formidable.

3. Undoubtedly progress already could have been greater and the dangers to peace and security greatly diminished if it were not for the dangerous aspirations of certain circles to use developments in other parts of the world as a pretext for interrupting the process of detente in Europe, destroying the existing equilibirium by stepping up the arms race and seeking to achieve one-sided military superiority, and were it not for repeated attempts by certain NATO states to falsify the Helsinki Final Act and in violation of their undertakings under international law, to interfere incessantly in the internal affairs of other states.

We see in these facts the real causes for aggravations and worsening of the international situation. It is NATO's long-term program of 1978, the NATO decision on deploying new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the modification of nuclear strategy, the boycott policy, and setting up the rapid deployment forces and new military bases which endanger peace and erode the laboriously built foundations of detente.

It is not Soviet aid for Afghanistan, as has been asserted here. The USSR and the Government of Afghanistan have concluded binding agreements and legitimately put them into practice in the interest of the sovereign, Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This endangers neither security in Europe nor in other parts of the world.

The strict adherence of obligations entered into under international law, however, today more than ever before is a yardstick whether a policy serves peace and cooperation or the worsening of the situation and confrontation.

Any endeavors to derive from treaties and agreements constructions alien to reality, which question the European postwar order, are unsuitable and, as is being demonstrated especially in our days, threaten peace. This applies to the Helsinki Final Act just as much as to the treaty on the bases of relations between the GDR and the FRG. Two sovereign German states with completely opposite social orders have existed for 30 years. The existence of these two states and the recognition of the inviolability of the state frontier between them has become equally important as an unrenouncable element of the political equilibrium in Europe. It helps to shape the bases for lasting security and peace on our continent, and who--for whatever reason--tries for the revision of these postwar results or replaces reality by illusion, renders willy nilly poor service to European security and world peace.

As far as safeguarding the GDR state frontier is concerned, one must never forget that it is the frontier between the two largest military groupings of our time, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is known that to the west of this frontier over 6,000 nuclear missiles have been stored for some time. Calm and security on this frontier are of paramount importance for European peace. However the FRG has not come to terms, as before, with the character of the frontier between the GDR and the FRG as a state frontier between two sovereign states, as its representative stated yesterday. One asks why? Secure frontiers are in the interest of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation. Only he who desires something else is against it.

The GDR has always advocated good-neighborly and mutually advantageous relations of peaceful coexistence with states with different social systems. It has in that sense taken manifold initiatives, which today are having a positive effect. This applies also to the development of relations with the FRG on the basis of international law. Further progress in these relations is naturally only possible if one proceeds without any reservation from the existence of two sovereign states which are independent of each other.

In face of the marked worsening and deterioration in the international situation, it is expected with justice from the Madrid meeting that it gives fresh noticeable impulses to the process of detente, to the realization of the Final Act in its totality.

For this reason the GDR delegation is in favor of a suitable, businesslike discussion on all parts and elements of the Final Act. This means primarily discussing concrete proposals bringing us nearer to the aim of the further realization of the stipulations of this document, the basis of our work here. In view of the complicated international situation we are faced with the task of concentrating on problems and matters which it is important and possible to solve because of the situation. This means primarily taking account of the fact that the political detente, which has been achieved so far in Europe, must be complemented by military detente.

Together with the other states of the socialist community the GDR therefore advocates that at the Madrid meeting progress be made on the most important question at present, the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of war.

This concerns above all the hopes of the peoples for a life in peace and good-neighborly relations, vigorous measures to contain the arms race, and the transition to military detente and disarmament. The Warsaw Pact member states in the Warsaw declaration of May 1980 as well as in the Berlin and Warsaw communiques on the meetings of the foreign ministers submitted topical and realistic proposals acceptable to all to bring about a change to military detente and disarmament in international relations. At the Madrid meeting achieving agreement on the proposal of the socialist and other participating states of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe should become the most important result of our joint work. Like other states, we also consider stage-by-stage measures as realistic and, as a first step, advocate working out a mandate for a conference on confidence-building measures.

At the same time we are guided by the fact that a conference on military detente and disarmament could later commence with agreement on measures to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe, including the limitation of military activities as well as of armed forces and arms.

However let us state with all clarity that endeavors linking the convening of the proposed conference to certain preconditions is incompatible with the stipulations of the Final Act and with the principle of equal security. This also goes against any internationally common practice in negotiations. In this connection I would underline that the GDR is ready to discuss in a businesslike manner any proposal made by other states which accord with the letter and spirit of the Final Act.

5. The GDR is strongly in favor of reaching agreement at the Madrid meeting on concrete measures as regards all parts of the Helsinki document. That applies to strengthening the code of principles of the Final Act, for the expansion of economic and economic-technological cooperation and for the areas of contacts, information, culture and education. Naturally agreements in these areas must have a general consensus and be in keeping with the principles and content of cooperation agreed on in the Final Act. It remains an axiom that only if the principles of security and sovereignty are guaranteed can fruitful, flourishing and beneficial cooperation be possible. Security is and remains the stable basis for cooperation.

6. A clearly outlined task has been passed on to the Madrid meeting by the Final Act. It is a question of conducting a more profound exchange of views on the positive experiences in the all-around implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

First and foremost, however, it is a question of looking forward. That means agreeing on proposals and recommendations which serve the further strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe. Positive results from the Madrid meeting require a constructive approach by all member states in the spirit of Helsinki Only that is ultimately in the interests of the continuation of our joint efforts.

7. The GDR wants from this meeting businesslike work directed at concrete results, in order to continue with elan and commitment along the road started upon with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Without doubt this also will have positive effects on detente in other regions of the world, particularly those which are closely linked politically and historically with the fate of Europe, such as the Mediterranean area.

It would be profoundly regrettable if a useless polemic of confrontation were to reduce the chances of good results.

The experiences of the postwar period have shown that in a cold war atmosphere flourishing cooperation which is beneficial to both sides is not attainable. Among the realizations which all the states assembled here have arrived at, in working out the Final Act, for example, is the realization that problems, however complicated they may be, can only be solved through dialogue. The GDR is constantly guided by this knowledge, at this conference too.

The GDR is conscious of its responsibility for the success of the Madrid meeting, and from the start it is aiming to see to it that all positive developments in international relations in Europe are not only preserved but also deepened.

Mr Chairman, let me underline once again that the delegation of the GDR will always be a businesslike partner, willing to negotiate, with all representatives of the participating states who are interested in a constructive atmosphere and substantial results from the Madrid meeting.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY SFRY FEDERAL SECRETARY VRHOVEC

Arrival 17 Nov

AU171118 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has arrived in our country on an official and friendly visit at the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport, Josip Vrhovec was welcomed by Comrade Petur Mladenov and deputy ministers of foreign affairs, as well as by numerous officials.

Talks With Mladenov

AU171645 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] On 17 November Josip Vrhovec, SFRY federal secretary, laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and a noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, and paid his respects at the coffin.

Later at the Lozenets residence official talks began between Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, and Josip Vrhovec. Responsible officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as Rayko Nikolov and Danilo Puric, the two countries' ambassadors, attended the talks.

More on Talks

AU172027 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Official talks between Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, and Josip Vrhovec, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, opened on 17 November in Sofia. The two foreign ministers expressed concern with the exacerbation of the international situation and stated their support of world peace and detente, as well as taking measures aimed at disarmament.

While reviewing the situation in the Balkans, Petur Mladenov and Josip Vrhovec noted the great importance of developing relations of good neighborliness and cooperation between the neighboring countries. They expressed concern with the situation in the Near East and the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, and called for its solution by peaceful means.

The two ministers called for liquidating the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid in South Africa. Opinions on the situation in the Middle East and Southeast Asia were exchanged. Tomorrow the talks will continue.

Formal Dinner

LD180030 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian foreign affairs minister, gave a formal dinner in the Lozenets Residence tonight in honor of Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and members of the Yugoslav delegation. During the dinner Mladenov and Vrhovec gave toasts.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON CSSR PREMIER STROUGAL'S VISIT

AU141835 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Nov 80 p 2

["Communique" on the visit of Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 10-11 November 1980]

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, paid a friendly, working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 10-11 November 1980, at the invitation of Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, was received by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In a cordial and friendly talk they exchanged opinions on the further development of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations.

Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, visited the town of Shumen, where he inspected the Madara plant for the production of freight cars.

During the visit of the CSSR premier in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a long term trade and payments agreement was signed between the two countries for the period 1981-85.

The premiers of the two states exchanged briefings on implementation of the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress, and on implementation of the decisions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress, as well as on the main tasks of further economic and social development which the two countries are now accomplishing. The two leaders of the Bulgarian and CSSR governments expressed their high appreciation for the remarkable successes achieved by both the Bulgarian and CSSR peoples in building a developed socialist society.

The two sides briefed each other on the preparations for the 12th BCP Congress and for the 16th CPCZ Congress, stressing the significance of the political and labor activities which both the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak peoples are engaged in on the occasion of the two fraternal parties' forthcoming congresses.

During their talks, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere as well as in full unanimity of views on the topics discussed, the two premiers evaluated the present state and future prospects of the further development of Bulgarian-CSSR relations, and exchanged opinions on some topical international issues.

The two countries' premiers ascertained with satisfaction that the friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism as well as on the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty signed between the two countries on 26 April 1968, are being successfully expanded and intensified in the interests of the peoples of both countries and in accordance with the conclusions at the talks held between the two first leaders of their parties and states--Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak--during their meeting in September 1979 in Czechoslovakia.

During their talks, the premiers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the CSSR briefed each other on the state of the preparations of both countries' 5-year plans on socioeconomic development for the period after 1980.

The two government leaders evaluated the development of mutual economic relations following their meeting in June 1979, and reached the conclusion that these relations are successfully developing and the results achieved represent a good basis for their further intensification.

The two premiers stressed the importance of the coordination of national economic plans between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR which was just concluded for the period 1981-85. The decisions adopted in this context ensure further expansion of economic cooperation and increase of mutual exchange of goods between the two countries.

The two government leaders ascertained that specialization and production sharing between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR are developing in a satisfactory manner, in particular regarding the sectors of the machine-building industry, electronics, electrotechnics and chemical industry. The share of specialized mutual deliveries represents about 29 percent of the 1980 bilateral exchange of goods.

It was also remarked that essential clarification of the key problems of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries has been achieved, in particular regarding specialization and production sharing in certain heavy industry sectors and in the production of freight cars. In this connection necessity was stressed to persist in work connected with the preparation of new proposals for expanding our economic cooperation, proposals which will even more efficiently contribute to the solution of the basic national economic problems of both countries, and will contribute to the creation of prerequisites for a further increase of mutual exchange of goods.

The results of cooperation in the scientific and technical sector were positively evaluated. A program on cooperation for the 1981-85 period, which was adopted in this sector, creates favorable prerequisites for the further intensification of relations in the scientific-technical area and for accelerating technical progress in both countries.

At the same time, the necessity is pointed out for competent organs in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in the CSSR to adopt the necessary measures so that scientific-technical cooperation may contribute, to a larger extent, to specialization and production sharing between the two countries and to an improvement of this cooperation's efficiency.

The leaders of the two governments expressed their positive evaluation of the contribution made by the bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation committee, by the central planning organs and foreign trade ministries of the two countries, as well as by other Bulgarian and CSSR ministries, departments and economic organizations, and of the results achieved in their work.

The two government leaders stressed that successful economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries, and its expansion, contributes to the further intensification of socialist economic integration within the CEMA framework.

The two government leaders unanimously ascertained that bilateral cooperation in the ideological, cultural, scientific and educational sectors, as well as in other spheres of social life, and the many-sided friendly relations existing among the working people of both countries are successfully developing.

The two government leaders stressed that their friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries belonging to the socialist community represent a solid basis for the foreign policy of Bulgaria and the CSSR. The two countries will also in future continue to contribute to the consolidation of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and to the perfection of all activities of these organizations, as well as to the implementation of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration.

In exchanging opinions on topical international problems, the two sides expressed their concern at the present international situation which is complicated as a result of the actions of the most aggressive forces of international imperialism, reaction and hegemonism. The United States and its NATO allies, together with the Chinese hegemonists, are intensifying the arms race for the purpose of achieving military superiority over the countries belonging to the socialist community. They are proclaiming military-political doctrines which are dangerous for peace, and are fanning new hotbeds of tension and confrontation in various areas of the world.

Deeply convinced that the policy of detente has no sensible alternative, the two sides once more expressed their unshakable support to the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, and their readiness also in the future to continue to struggle for the settlement of controversial questions among states by peaceful means, along the path of negotiations. The concrete proposals contained in the declaration of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, adopted on 15 May 1980 in Warsaw, serve this noble goal. These proposals have been further developed in the decisions adopted at the session of the foreign ministers' committee held in October 1980 in Warsaw. The proposals submitted by the Soviet Union at the 35th UN General Assembly session serve this purpose as well.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR welcome the negotiations between the USSR and the United States on questions of nuclear arms in Europe which recently began in Geneva. The two sides expressed themselves in favor of the prompt ratification of the SALT II treaty by the United States.

Taking into consideration the fact that the proposals of the socialist countries participating in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe submitted on 10 July 1980 represent a serious, new step forward along the path of rapprochement to the stands of the Western states, the government leaders of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR think that it is now necessary for the Western states participating in these negotiations to give a concrete reply to these proposals.

The two sides expressed their confidence that the Madrid meeting will proceed in a constructive spirit, and that it will contribute to the continuation and intensification of the process of detente in Europe and throughout the world.

The adoption of a decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe would be of great importance in this respect.

The chairman of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed his high appreciation of the principled and constructive, consistent policy conducted by the CSSR, a policy whose basic goal is to expand the process of detente, and to consolidate security and cooperation among states in central Europe as well as in other areas of the world.

The CSSR premier expressed his high appreciation of the principled, constructive and consistent policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, aimed at consolidating security, good neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

In discussing the situation in Southeast Asia, the two sides resolutely condemned the actions of the Beijing hegemonists who, in conspiracy with and the most active support of imperialism, are threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the SRV, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The two sides think that the decision adopted at the 35th UN General Assembly session on the "situation in Kampuchea" represents a gross interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a violation of its sovereignty, and that this decisions contradicts the UN Charter.

The government leaders of Bulgaria and the CSSR once again expressed their two countries' solidarity and support for the struggle of the Afghan people in defending the achievements of the April revolution. They pointed out that the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan submitted on 14 May 1980 have a constructive character and represent a good basis for the settlement of the problems connected with the situation in Afghanistan.

The two government leaders once again denounced the aggressive policy of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East, which continues to exacerbate tension in that area. The two sides stressed the necessity for an all-round political settlement of the problems caused by Israeli aggression, with the direct participation of all interested sides, including the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The two sides declared in favor of the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, and for recognizing the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and to establish their own independent state.

The two premiers expressed the great concern of their governments over the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, and think that in the interest of the peoples in these two countries at war military actions should immediately stop and peaceful negotiations should begin on the controversial problems. The conviction was expressed that the conflict, with its implications, contributes to the efforts of imperialism to impose its influence upon the Persian Gulf area and to threaten peace throughout the world.

The two government leaders expressed their states' solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national independence and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. The two government leaders expressed their appreciation of the positive role played by the nonaligned countries' movement in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and peoples' national independence.

The premiers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR expressed their conviction that their friendly working talks will contribute to the further expansion and intensification of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak peoples, and to the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the countries belonging to the socialist community.

Lubomir Strougal, premier of the CSSR, invited Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay a friendly working visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. Sofia, 11 November 1980.

BCP, SWEDISH CP DELEGATIONS HOLD TALKS IN SOFIA

AU142015 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)--A delegation of the Swedish Workers' Party-communists, led by Mr Rolf Hagel, chairman of the party, visited Bulgaria, November 9-14, 1980, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

During their stay here the delegates had talks with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Swedish delegation also visited the city of Plovdiv where the guests were made familiar with not only the (?sights) but with the industrial and agricultural sites of the county.

At the talks, information was exchanged on the activities of the two parties. The Bulgarian party informed their Swedish guests of the tasks the Bulgarian Communist Party was solving at the present stage. The representatives of the Swedish Workers' Party-Communists, were made familiar with the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government of Bulgaria in the sphere of international relations.

Mr Rolf Hagel reported on the internal situation in Sweden and the tasks the party was solving under the conditions of deepening economic crisis and struggle against the monopolies.

At the talks the firm determination of the Bulgarian and Swedish communists was expressed to work for further strengthening the process of detente and for its conversion into an irreversible process, for supplementing political detente with respective measures in the military sphere, for undertaking active actions to further reinforce the unity and solidarity of the international communist and workers' movement upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION ON VISIT

AU151916 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 15 Nov (BTA)--In implementation of the cooperation protocol between the BCP and the Indian Communist Party, a delegation of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party, headed by Mr H. K. Vias, member of the National Council and editor-in-chief of the JAN YUG newspaper, were on visit here from November 5 through 15.

The members of the delegation were received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP. During the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, some questions of the further consolidation and expansion of contacts between the BCP and the Indian Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism were discussed. The Indian guests met Mr Georgi Grigorov, head of the organizational department of the Central Committee of the BCP, who made them familiar with the organizational activities of the BCP.

During their stay in Bulgaria the members of the Indian delegation visited industrial and agricultural projects in the counties of Blagoevgrad and Varna and met different party leaders and economic executives.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY MINISTER PANKOV, DELEGATION VISITS GREECE

AU151510 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 15 Nov (BTA)--A delegation of the Bulgarian Ministry of Chemical Industry, led by Minister Georgi Pankov, paid a visit to Greece from November 11 to 15.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation had meetings and useful talks with the minister of industry and power generation of Greece, Mr Stefanos Manos, minister of trade, Mr Aristidhes Kalantzakos, minister without portfolio, Mr Stavros Dhimas, and responsible representatives of the Greek business circles. The two sides stated with satisfaction the ascending development of Bulgaro-Greek trade and economic relations and discussed some new forms of deepening and expansion of cooperation and industrial joint production between Bulgaria and Greece in the field of chemical industry.

ZHIVKOV SENDS GREETINGS TO JURIST CONGRESS IN MALTA

AU131958 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, has sent a telegram to the participants in the 11th Congress of the International Association of Jurists-Democrats in La Valletta, Malta, which reads in part:

"Very highly appreciated in our country are the efforts and contribution of your organization for the steady application of international law in international relations, for the further consolidation of the principles of peaceful co-existence among states of different social systems, for stopping the arms race, for ensuring a peaceful future to nations.

It is on you, the jurists-democrats, that the duty and responsibility falls to contribute with legal means to the preservation of world peace, to the preserving of the mutual trust among the countries all over the world, to mankind's prosperity and all-round upsurge".

REPORTAGE, COMMENTARY CONTINUE ON POLISH SITUATION

Walesa Interview Criticized

AU172012 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 80 p 7

[Article signed (ZR): "Nothing Can Be Excluded; Excerpt From the Hamburg STERN's Interview With Lech Walesa"]

[Text] Bonn, 13 Nov (ZR)--In its latest number, the Hamburg weekly STERN carries an interview with Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, the new trade union [odborove seskupeni] in Poland. In order to ingratiate himself with the West German reader, Lech Walesa began by insulting People's Poland. Asked what the democracy he wishes should look like, he answered: "That I do not know myself yet. Until now I have lived only in Poland and therefore I have never seen democracy at close quarters."

And in the same breath he adds that he would like to "observe West German democracy."

The STERN reporter, however, would like to hear something constructive about Solidarity's activity. He asks directly: "When a trade union is as strong as yours, there is the question of coresponsibility for the state and society. How is it with you?"

Walesa says: "If things turn out all right, then thank the unions, if things should go badly, then blame the government."

When the reporter asks him about a formula to overcome the crisis, Walesa tries to minimize the seriousness of the situation: "The government wants to scare us and therefore it is saying that we are doing so badly," he asserts and says that he rather relies on his friends, but does not say who he regards as his friends. His ambitions are not small at all. Asked when he will talk about his crisis-management [krizovy] plan, he answers: "When I am in the government."

At the remark of the reporter that he wants to divide state farms among farmers, he answers: "We do not want to divide them immediately," but first he will, allegedly, figure out suitable measures; but he already has a solution: "To ask Switzerland or Sweden to help us in agriculture."

Walesa's tongue had slipped in another respect too. Several times the reporter pressed the question whether Solidarity could not later become a political party. Walesa admitted that "different development could ensue, development we have never considered."

"You are saying that you are not a politician, but what is your political orientation?" the reporter asked. Walesa answers: "I am a trade unionist now, but it is not excluded that in the future I will become something else."

Thus Walesa, according to STERN, if the report is authentic, does not exclude anything, no possibility....

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Commentary Noted

AU172007 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 80 p 7

[CTK correspondent: "They Want To Drive a Wedge Between the Socialist Countries; 'Aid' at Poland's Expense"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Nov (CTK)--In the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL of 27 October, the minister-president of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, who draws on the CDU's political treasury, offered the Poles...the right to a fatherland in Poland. What is meant is Poland annexed to the FRG, a thing that is to occur after the subjugation of the GDR.

And in this pious work the Poles themselves are to help, because--as E. Albrecht claims--"the Poles very well understand the reasons why the Germans must return to the borders of 1937," writes the Polish army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on Friday in a commentary headlined "At Our Expense, at the Expense of Our Fatherland."

In the same interview, Ernst Albrecht suggests that Poland be given "discrete and tactful" aid in the "process of internal liberalization," including "economic aid if it will serve the purpose."

Also NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns, at the meeting of the Euroclub 9 in Aubenas in France, unintentionally revealed the further objective of that campaign when he said that the events in Poland "convinced him of the need for a strong, vigilant and united alliance which is capable of responding to the challenge of a more complex and more dangerous future." And in order to make it clear, he appealed to the NATO allies to increase their weapons expenditures.

Radio Free Europe and other enemy centers are also trying at every opportunity to interfere in Polish affairs and to drive a wedge between Poland and its allies.

Thus all hostile forces are trying to grind their own axes on the events in our fatherland. In any case, however, at the expense of Poland and the Poles, emphasizes ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in the closing part of the commentary.

Western Interference

LD172232 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Today's copy of Britain's the DAILY TELEGRAPH writes quite openly about the conditions which the West attaches to economic aid to Poland. It overtly encourages Western governments to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, and writes, I quote: If the West is to finance this huge Polish operation it must reserve the right of inspection and supervision of developments in Poland. The paper does not leave its readers in any doubt as to the meaning of that huge operation, and I quote: It is a transformation of the whole communist system and this at a very rapid pace. That is the only way, the paper adds, the objectives of Lech Walesa and his comrades can be achieved, writes the British paper the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

DEMICHEV, SOVIET DELEGATION ARRIVE FOR CULTURAL EXHIBITION

LD171420 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] The official Soviet delegation to attend the Days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia arrived this afternoon in Prague. It is headed by Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the Soviet guests were welcomed by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Miroslav Muller; departmental head of the party Central Committee; Matej Lucan, federal deputy premier; Milan Klusak, Czechoslovak minister of culture; and other personalities.

Meeting With Strougal

LD171450 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and federal prime minister, received in Prague today Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of culture, who is heading a Soviet delegation at the inauguration of the Days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia.

In the course of the meeting, Lubomir Strougal and Petr Demichev highly appreciated the successful development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which is being projected in all areas. They also talked about tasks tackled by both countries in the preparation of their respective party congresses and the 5-year plans of the development of their respective national economies for the period 1981-85. At the same time, they stressed the great importance of culture and the traditional exchanges of cultural values between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which are making a significant contribution to the strengthening of fraternal relations and the deepening of friendship and amity between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people.

The reception was attended by Matej Lucan, deputy federal prime minister, and Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture. Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, was also present.

DZUR, ARMY DELEGATION LEAVE FOR VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

LD171346 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] A delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army headed by Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, left today for an official visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic federal secretary for national defense of the SFRY. At Ruzyne Airport in Prague, the delegation was seen off by Dusan Spacil, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

KAMPUCHEA'S HENG SAMRIN, DELEGATION ARRIVE ON VISIT

LD171554 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] A delegation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation [KNUFNS] and the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the Central Committee of the KNUFNS and of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, arrived today for an official, friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Government of the CSSR. The delegation consists of members of the Central Committee of the front: Hun Sen, minister of foreign affairs; Chan Ven, minister of education; Men Chhan, minister of agriculture; Chea Soth, minister of planning and external economic cooperation; and other Kampuchean Government officials. In prague the delegation was joined by Phong Sareth, the Kampuchean ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium: Vasil Bilak, Antonin Kapek, and Josef Korcak; deputy federal premiers and other members of the Federal Government, representatives of the Federal Assembly, of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, members of the Czech Government, generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army and other personages of Czechoslovak political and public life came to Ruzyne Airport to welcome the highest representatives of the heroic Kampuchean people.

Shortly after 1400, the special aircraft carrying the distinguished guests landed at the Prague airport where large crowds of the citizens of Prague were gathered to cordially greet the members of the Kampuchean delegation. Hanging on the front of the main airport building was an inscription "we are greeting the representatives of the Kampuchean people" both in Czech and the Khmer language. Both the Czechoslovak and Kampuchean flags flew on the flagpoles.

After the initial welcome on the territory of Czechoslovakia, during which Prague young Pioneers presented the guests with red flowers, the national anthems of the two countries were played, during which gun salvoes were fired. Comrade Heng Samrin received a report of the commander of the honor guard.

Accompanied by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, Heng Samrin, chairman of the KNUFNS Central Committee and of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, inspected the honor guard, assembled on the airport tarmac with its combat banner. Afterward, Heng Samrin exchanged greetings with other Czechoslovak representatives, working people and youth of Prague. After the ceremonial march past of a military unit of the Prague garrison, which concluded the welcoming ceremony, the Kampuchean delegation left for its Prague residence.

Wreath Laying

LD180012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Heng Samrin, chairman of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean National United Front of National Salvation and People's Revolutionary Council of Cambodia, and other members of his delegation who arrived in Prague today for an official friendly visit, this afternoon paid homage to the memory of the unknown soldier by placing wreaths at the tomb at the national memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague. The ceremony concluded with the Kampuchean and Czechoslavak national anthems. The delegation was accompanied by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and other Czechoslovak Government officials. The representatives of fraternal Kampuchea then placed flowers at the tomb of Klement Gottwald, the eminent representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement. They also paid homage to the memory of Soviet soldiers who lost their lives during the liberation of Czechoslovakia. After visiting the premises of the national memorial the guests signed the visitors' book.

Meeting With Husak

LD172358 Prague CTK in English 1948 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Prague, 17 Nov (CTK)--General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President Gustav Husak received here Monday Chairman of the Cambodian United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council Heng Samrin.

Present at the meeting was Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal.

In a friendly atmosphere, Gustav Husak and Heng Samrin dealt with the level of relations between their parties and states developing successfully on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and in full harmony with the joint statement signed at the conclusion of the visit of a top level Czechoslovak party and state delegation to Cambodia last February.

Dealing with the present complicated international situation, both sides stressed that the establishment of the People's Republic of Cambodia significantly contributes to ensuring peace, security and social progress in Southeast Asia by its peace policy and efforts to establish friendly relations with all countries on the principles of equality and (peaceful coexistence) of states with different social systems.

Both sides stated that Czechoslovakia and Cambodia, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries strive for strengthening unity of the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the continuation of the process of international detente on all continents, and for lasting peace in the world.

FINANCE MINISTER LER ARRIVES IN ALGIERS ON VISIT

LD171232 Prague CTK in English 0940 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Algiers, 17 Nov (CTK)--Czechoslovak Finance Minister Leopold Ler arrived here last night for a two-day visit to Algeria at the invitation of his Algerian counterpart Mohamed Hadj Yala.

The Czechoslovak official will discuss here prospects of financial cooperation with Algeria. He will also meet with the Algerian minister of planning and territorial development and other economic officials.

HUSAK, LENART ADDRESS BRATISLAVA CEREMONY FOR GOTTWALD

LD132314 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] In the presence of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, a monument dedicated to Klement Gottwald was unveiled in Bratislava today. The monument to Klement Gottwald, the outstanding representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement, has become a dominent feature of Klement Gottwald Square, which has been redesigned architecturally and at the same time handed over to the Bratislava public for their use.

A rally of working people and youth, held to mark this festive occasion, was also attended by members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Peter Colotka, Slovak prime minister, as well as by Viliam Salgovic, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council, and other members of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee; Ignac Janak, Jan Janik, Elena Litvajova, Ludovit Pezlar, Gejza Slapka, Miroslav Valek, and other people.

We shall now give you recorded highlights from this event from the moment when Comrade Gustav Husak came up to unveil the monument:

[Begin Husak recording--in Slovak] May this beautiful statue serve as an expression of the loyalty and respect of our generations to the traditions of our nations and to the memory of this important figure of modern Czechoslovak history, Comrade Klement Gottwald. [applause] [end recording]

After the ceremonial unveiling of the Kelment Gottwald statue by Comrade Husak, Comrade Jozef Lenart mounted the platform. In his speech he said, among other things:

[Begin Lenart recording--in Slovak] Dear Comrade Husak, dear comrades and esteemed fellow-citizens: Our Bratislava, the capital city of Socialist Slovakia, is living during these festive moments through one of its unforgetable days. To the broad public, we are presenting a statute of the Czechoslovak revolutionary, zealous patriot and internationalist an outstanding statesman, the first president of the working people, Klement Gottwald. Along with this statue, we are also presenting the city and its people this artistically redesigned square, which by its architecture will surely become a dignified monument of our times and will rank among the attractive dominant features of the city.

The uniqueness of this moment, the great importance of this event has been made all the more distinguished by the presence of Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, respected and esteemed by all of us. [applause]

Esteemed friends, we are unveiling the statue of Klement Gottwald on the eve of the 84th anniversary of his birth. It is symbolic in its own way that this event is taking place during celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution, during a period when we are about to enter a jubilee year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ and when our party and the whole of society are living in an atmosphere of preparations for the 16th party congress. Linked with these events are the values that marked the life and work of Klement Gottwald, the struggles of our working class and other groups of the working people, values that have become part of the socialist present and the living tradition of our nations.

By unveiling the Klement Gottwald statue we are expressing our profound respect to this outstanding figure of our modern history and are demonstrating our loyalty to the ideals by which he was guided in his revolutionary activity and throughout his entire life, as well as manifesting our resolve to continue relentlessly in the labor to which he made a contribution in the struggle with the bourgeoisie, in the merciless fight against fascism and in the building of a new life after the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

By this monument we are at the same time paying our homage to our Communist Party, the veterans of the revolution, we are paying our homage to our working class and the working people. [end recording]

Later on in his speech, Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke at length about the struggle waged by Comrade Gottwald for a revolutionary party, for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which he had helped to steel, to formulate its revolutionary policy and fight to put it into practice. And it was the party itself, with Klement Gottwald at its head, which resolved, in the Leninist spirit, the nationalities problem in the country while achieving, in effect, equality among our nations. In this connection Comrade Jozef Lenart, went on to say:

[Begin Lenart recording--in Slovak] Our modern and advanced Socialist Slovakia is the confirmation of the correctness and beneficial nature of this policy, whose development found expression in the federative constitutional set up. Today, when the resolve of the party has been fulfilled, it is an obligation, as well as resolution of the working class, of all the working people of Slovakia, to contribute ever more in a comradely and common work of our nations, to the development of a unified Czechoslovak economy, to double the strength of our common socialist homeland and to enhance it further, to guard and strengthen further the unity between the Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities living in our homeland. [applause]

Comrade Klement Gottwald lives in our minds and hearts as a zealous patriot. He was always proud of the great deeds the people of our country had performed throughout their history and he warmly subscribed to their progressive, national traditions. And for this reason, he was also a deeply resolved internationalist, a sincere friend of the Soviet Union. He saw the struggle for the liberation of the working class, for the existence and secure future of our nations in the present time in being linked unbreakably with the struggle of the international proletariat and above all the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

For him the Soviet Union was a deep source of revolutionary experiences. It was to the Soviet Union where he went to learn how to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build a new life. Klement Gottwald determined unequivocally one's attitude to the Great October Revolution, one's attitude to the Soviet Union, as a criterion of the genuineness, and honesty of every communist party, every communist and democrat. Proceeding from the liberation mission of the Soviet Union, from the awareness that it is the Soviet Union which is a guarantor of our existence and independence as a nation and a state, Klement Gottwald voiced his credo which has come to be professed by all Czechoslovak peoples: With the Soviet Union forever and never otherwise. [applause]

It ranks among the great deeds of the new leadership of our party, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, that after overcoming the crisis within the party and society, we have not only restored the Gottwald-like royal relationship toward the Soviet Union but, in keeping with the needs of the time, we have also raised to a new, higher degree our cooperation and integration with that country in the field of sciences and technology, in the field of production, as well as in the field of the defense of the socialist gains. Our party is stepping up its effort aimed at strengthening and deepening our fraternal friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Developing Klement Gottwald's legacy, as the acknowledged figure in the international communist movement, our party is making an active contribution to the development of that movement and, by its struggle against opportunism, revisionism and Maoist hegemonism, it is helping to strengthen its unity and cohesion.

Comrades! In the history of our revolutionary movement respect and recognition are not expressed by words alone. The order of the present time is also above all actions. A proof of a respect for the life and accomplishments of the great figures of the communist movement and respect for the work done by Klement Gottwald must continue to be a creative and active work, our endeavour to work better, more effectively, our resolve to do one's utmost for one's homeland, for the unity of the forces of socialism and progress, for peace in the interest of mankind, for the happiness of all working people. [end recording]

The rally of working people and youth in Bratislava, which became a manifestation of loyalty to the legacy of Klement Gottwald ended with the singing of the Internationale.

The newly unveiled monument is formed by a configuration symbolizing Klement Gottwald's bonds with the traditions of our people. The creators of this monumental configuration and the redesigning of the square are (?Tibor Barkay), meritorious artist, (Karol Lacko and Juraj Hovorka), all sculpters, along with architects (Virgil Drop and Juraj Hlavica). Another dominant feature of Gottwald Square is the Fountain of Friendship made in the form of an unfolding lime flower.

Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, left Bratislava for Prague in the afternoon. He was seen off by members of the CPCZ Central Committee, Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Peter Colotka, Slovak prime minister; as well as by members of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council; Gejza Slapka, chief secretary of the CPSL City Committee in Bratislava, and by Ladislav Martinak, the mayor of Bratislava.

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM--An international colloquium on unwoven textiles opened in Brno on 11 November. It is being attended by 140 Czechoslovak experts and almost 70 foreign specialists from Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Yugoslavia, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, the Netherlands, Poland, Austria, Romania, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the United States and Great Britain. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

FIELD WORK REPORT--Winter wheat remains to be sown on roughly 81,000 hectares in the CSSR (39,000 hectares in Czech lands and 42,000 in Slovakia). South Moravia is the only region to have fulfilled the sowing plan so far. East Slovakia, where 26.4 percent of the planned area remains to be sown, is the region with the greatest lag. Sugar beets remain to be harvested from 15.6 percent of the area under cultivation statewide. The sugar content in the Czech lands averages 14.21 percent, in Slovakia 14.04 percent. Flax and the last hectares of potatoes in mountainous areas are also still on the fields. Corn for grain has been harvested from about 50 percent of the 168,555 hectares under cultivation statewide. The corn is in good condition but with an excessively high water content, due to the recent rain and snowfall. The cold weather has also negatively affected the sunflower, fruit and vegetable crops. Plowing has been carried out on more than 1.8 million hectares in the Czech lands (79 percent) and on 822,352 hectares in Slovakia (69.4 percent). [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 80 p 1 AU]

NORTH BOHEMIAN COAL BASIN--The North Bohemian brown coal basin, the largest in Czechoslovakia, covers an area of 850 square kilometers and contains 6.5 billion tons of coal, of which about 4.6 billion tons are recoverable. At present the basin produces 70 percent of Czechoslovakia's brown coal extraction and more than 55 percent of the country's overall coal extraction. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

POLISH JOURNAL ON ANTISOCIALIST FORCES IN POLAND CITED

LD180028 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] The PZPR theoretical monthly IDEOLOGIA I POLITIKA in its latest issue deals with the aims and methods of the antisocialist forces in Poland. The article is headed "The Antisocialist Current." Our Warsaw correspondent Klaus Franke provides a summary.

[Begin Franke recording] The journal refers to the criticism, vehement in part, by the Polish people of the negative phenomena and the demands for the consistent eradication of mistakes and the overcoming of the consequences of the crisis. IDEOLOGIA I POLITIKA contrasts these demands, motivated by concern for Poland's future, which must be attentively listened to and heeded, with the activity of antisocialist forces. It says that the crisis the country is going through provides an opportunity for the antisocialist forces to step up their destructive activities. They seek to exploit difficulties and mistakes for attacks on the party and state. Their aim is to overthrow socialism in our country. The escalation of demands, mainly economic demands, was conceived with the sole purpose of overtaxing Poland's economy. At the same time they carried into the working class political demands, cloaked in democratic verbiage, which go beyond the structural solutions offered by socialism.

The journal deals specifically with the aims and political tactics of the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee, KSS-KOR, and the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

Their principal aim, the article stresses, is to exploit the crisis in order to overthrow the legal order, the basis of the socialist system of the Polish People's Republic. The main methods is to eliminate the PZPR from political life and to introduce what is called the free play of political forces, which would facilitate their takeover of power, a method which may be described as creeping counterrevolution.

This concept envisages the creation and legalization in the initial phase of numerous oppositional organizations and political groupings. At the same time the authors of this program want to start restricting the PZPR's influence in various spheres of Polish life. In the ensuing phase socialism is to be completely eroded. Specifically, the party of the working class is to be eliminated from public and political life.

The journal says that the implementation of this plan is closely linked with the design of severing Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union.

Dealing with the common ground and differences between the various antisocialist groups, the journal says that they agreed almost unanimously in demanding the introduction of political pluralism and the reactivation of political, of course, oppositional parties on the model of bourgeois democracy. After referring to the program, aimed at overthrowing socialism, of the so-called confederation of independent Poland, the journal says: The authors of these proposals forget that the economically and socially backward pre-September Poland resulted from the policy of the forces they are seeking to reactivate; that the Polish people paid a terrible price for this policy during the Hitler occupation and that the people generally believe that these are outdated concepts harshly condemned by history. The journal deals also with the relations between the leaders of the strike movement and the new trade unions and antisocialist elements. It says that the oppositional antisocialist groups, which for sometime tried to infiltrate the workers' ranks so that, by exploiting mistakes by the party and the authorities, gained a certain credibility to their tactic of standing up for some people who had in fact suffered wrongs at the hands of the economic or state administration. Their credibility grew with the waning of the credibility of the party whom they saddled with the entire responsibility for the crisis situation.

The exploitation of the mistakes and ill-considered steps by the state authorities, the journal stresses, is an old method of attacking the foundations of the social system. This simple method proved successful inasmuch as it contrived to deepen the crisis of confidence of the working people in the party. This was facilitated by suppressing information--this is not readily understood today--about the existence and manifestations of the activity of people on the antisocialist fringe. [end recording]

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON HONECKER'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA

LD131328 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1102 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text of joint communique on the 10-13 November state visit by GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to the Republic of Austria]

[Text] Vienna, 13 Nov (ADN)--At the invitation of the federal president of the Republic of Austria, Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, paid a state visit to Austria from 10 to 13 November 1980.

During the visit the two statesmen conducted a thorough exchange of views on the state and prospects of relations between the GDR and the Austrian Republic as well as on current international problems.

During his stay in Vienna the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, had a meeting with the federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic, Dr Bruno Kreisky, during which mutual relations and topical international problems were discussed.

The chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, paid visits to the president of the National Council of the Austrian Republic, Anton Benya, and to the deputy mayor of Vienna, Gertrude Froehlich-Sandner, and signed his name in the city's golden book of honor. The chairman of the GDR State Council and dignitaries accompanying him visited Linz and Salzburg and visited Voest-Alpine A.G. A meeting took place in Salzburg with the provincial governor, Dr Wilfried Haslauer.

In tribute to the victims of national socialism, Erich Honecker laid a wreath at the memorial on the site of the former Mauthausen concentration camp.

Federal President Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger accompanied Erich Honecker on these visits.

Present at the official talks between the chairman of the GDR State Council and the federal president of the Austrian Republic were:

For the GDR side, Dr Guenter Mittag, member of the GDR State Council, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign affairs minister; Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, state secretary and first deputy GDR foreign trade minister; Gerhard Schramm, extraordinary and plenipotentiary GDR ambassador to the Republic of Austria.

For the Republic of Austria, Dr Willibald Pahr, federal minister for foreign affairs of the Austrian Republic; Dr Josef Staribacher, federal minister for trade, commerce and industry of the Austrian Republic; Dr Hans Walser, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Austrian Republic to the GDR.

The chairman of the GDR State Council and federal president of the Austrian Republic expressed their satisfaction at the good development of relations between the two states. They agreed that good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the Austrian Republic and their continued development are of mutual benefit to both states and peoples and contribute toward security and cooperation in Europe. They therefore expressed their firm intention of further expanding cooperation between the two states and peoples on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act.

The statesmen agreed that an important role is played in this respect by the exchange of views between political figures of the two states. The two sides paid special attention to bilateral economic relations. They concurred in noting that these had developed very positively during the past years on the basis of the long term trade and payments agreement and the agreement on economic, industrial and technological cooperation, and that trade in particular is showing a tendency to increase in the interest of both sides. The two statesmen expressed their conviction that, in view of the performance potential of the two countries, favorable conditions exist for a further development of economic relations during the coming years. This applies both to the above-average increase in traditional, direct trade, economic-technological cooperation, the development of cooperative relations in selected areas as well as to cooperation on third markets. Both sides drew attention to the great benefit derived from mutual inclusion in investment activity in plants and major projects which provides a stable foundation for economic relations between the two countries. They also expressed their interest in the participation of small and medium-sized enterprises and production cooperatives in mutual cooperation.

The two sides stressed the importance of the new long term trade and payment agreement for the period up to 1990 signed during the visit and which opens up new opportunities for economic cooperation. They underlined the usefulness for the further all-round development of mutual relations of the agreements concluded on air traffic, judicial assistance and legal protection of inventions, industrial patterns and models and trademarks.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that relations in the scientific-technological field, in the fields of culture, education, sport and in the humanitarian sector are developing in a favorable way. They endorsed the firm will of both states to continue to promote this development in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act.

During discussion of the international situation, both statesmen expressed their deep concern about the continued existence of hotbeds of conflict and tension which pose grave dangers to peace and detente. They stressed the need for all sides to make efforts to counter the deterioration in the international situation, end the arms race and secure the continuation of detente and the CSCE process.

The two sides concurred in this respect that they would welcome and actively promote steps and measures serving to preserve and secure peace. The partners at the discussion paid particular attention to the development of security and cooperation in Europe.

The GDR and Republic of Austria regard the Helsinki Final Act as a code for international relations the implementation of which in its entirety is of great importance for the security and cooperation of all signatory states of the Final Act.

Both sides were of the view that important impulses for further steps in the deepening of detente and disarmament should emanate from the Madrid meeting. In this connection they pointed to the important role which an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament could play, and they advocated that within the framework of even-handed decisions of the Madrid meeting in all spheres of the CSCE Final Act, a decision on the convening of this conference also be made. Both statesmen opposed the lasting arms race both in the sphere of weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons and their further development and also in the conventional sphere, and firmly advocated concrete steps in the sphere of arms limitation and disarmament while taking account of the decision of the 10th special meeting of the UN General Assembly. They came out in favor of suitable steps for the implementation of measures for arms control, especially in the sphere of the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms and their carriers. They welcomed the commencement of talks between the USSR and the U.S. on the reduction of nuclear arms in Europe.

Both sides advocated that all disputed issues and international conflicts be settled by peaceful means with strict regard to international law, especially the principles and norms of the UN statute [satzung--presumably meaning the UN Charter].

Both sides emphasized the urgency to achieve progress in the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe and the measures connected with it.

They advocated the earliest possible solution to the Cyprus question on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions while fully respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and while respecting the rights and interests of both ethnic groups.

Both sides expressed their concern about Middle East developments and expressed the view that the present situation in this region requires a fundamental solution. They agreed that a lasting and just peace could only be achieved through a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problems with the participation of all interested sides, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The two sides expressed concern about the development of the military conflict between Iran and Iraq. They called for a peaceful end to the Iran-Iraq conflict as soon as possible by means of negotiations and political settlement.

The heads of state stressed the great importance of the UN Organization and expressed their determination to continue their efforts to strengthen this organization as a universal and irreplaceable instrument in the service of world peace and security while strictly adhering to the UN statute.

Both sides emphasized the great importance which both countries attribute to efforts to create a new international economic order which takes into account the interests of all members of the international community of states.

The chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, and the federal president of the Republic of Austria, Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, expressed their satisfaction at the course and results of the state visit. They concurred in their belief that the talks, which were held in an open atmosphere, marked by a striving for mutual understanding, constitute a contribution to strengthening relations between the two states and peoples as well as to peace, detente and cooperation in Europe. The chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, invited the federal president of the Austrian Republic, Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, to pay an official visit to the GDR. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The date of the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

DPA: BORDER GUARDS CAPTURE PERSON ATTEMPTING ESCAPE

LD180956 Hamburg DPA in German 0703 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 18 Nov (DPA)--GDR Border Guards prevented an escape in the southern part of Berlin this morning.

According to the police, residents in the Berlin district of Rudow, bordering the southern part of the city, heard shots in GDR territory at about 0530 GMT. They then saw soldiers search the area and take away an uninjured person.

A bullet fired by a GDR soldier was found embedded in the wall of a room in a house in West Berlin close to the border. According to the information available, nobody was injured.

HOFFMANN ADDRESSES COMBAT GROUPS ON STRENGTHENING DEFENSE

LD150258 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] Suhl/Rostock, 14 Nov (ADN)--In view of the stepping up policy of confrontation, the unleashing of conflicts, the arms race and the interference in the internal affairs of socialist states by certain imperialist circles, it is necessary to strengthen further the defense efforts for the protection of the power of workers and peasants. This was emphasized by Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police, on Friday at meetings with members of the GDR's combat groups in Suhl and Rostock.

The increasing attacks by imperialism, by means of NATO long-term programs, the Brussels missile decision and the stepping up of aggression preparedness, are aimed at changing the international balance of power in its favor. The planned deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe would strengthen above all the positions of those adventurers in the United States and NATO who entertain the idea of striking first, Minister Hoffmann said in Suhl.

In view of the imperialist arms race and the peace-endangering campaigns in various parts of the world, the responsibility of the Soviet Armed Forces and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact for safeguarding socialism and peace has inevitably increased, Minister Hoffmann said. "Nothing would be more dangerous in this situation than to stand by idly and watch the imperialists' activities while commenting on the weather." Socialist national defense was also and above all a matter for the individual, his heart and mind, his defense preparedness and will to check or--should there be risk of an attack--to defeat any imperialist aggressor. "Therefore we regard socialist military training, particularly of the young, as the outstanding, fundamental task in fulfilling the military class order set by the Ninth SED Congress."

In his address in Rostock, Minister Dickel underlined in his review of the GDR's combat groups past training year: "We can note with satisfaction that the fighting groups of the working class have fulfilled their class order honorably. Thus, they have contributed with dignity toward the further strengthening of the GDR. They have achieved the best results and highest growth to date in combat strength and combat readiness.

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH CUBAN ACADEMY--The presidents of the GDR and Cuban Academies of Sciences, Prof Dr Werner Scheler and Prof Dr Wilfredo Torres Iribar, signed Friday in Berlin a new basic accord on scientific cooperation between both academies. At the same time the secretary generals of both academies signed a protocol for the 1981-85 period with specific stipulations for jointly working out national economically important problems in the field of organic chemistry, plant physiology, nuclear and space research. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

YAR MINISTER ON VISIT--On Monday GDR Foreign Minister Horst Soelle and Muhammad Hizan Shuhati, minister of economy and industry of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] met in Berlin for talks about the development of economic cooperation and about expanding trade relations between the GDR and the YAR. Muhammad Hizan Shuhati heads a YAR Government delegation which is on an official visit of several days to the GDR. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

SYRIAN DEPUTY PREMIER--Horst Soelle, GDR foreign trade minister, received on Tuesday 'Abd al-Qadir, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Syrian Arab Republic and member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, who is visiting the GDR on the occasion of the fifth session of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. On the same day Dr Rudi Georgi, GDR minister of machine tool and processing machery building, received Abd al-Qadir for talks. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PREPARES NEW 5-YEAR PLAN

Faluvegi Interview: 'Openness'

AU141423 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 80 pp 5, 6

[Istvan Foldes article: "NEPSZABADSAG Interview With Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi, Chairman of the National Planning Office, on the 5-Year Plan Under Preparation"]

[Text] In recent weeks the trade unions, the People's Front, the Academy of Sciences, the Youth League, the federations of cooperatives, the associations of economists and technicians, the Women's Council, the leading organs of the Chamber of Commerce and the Budapest and county party executive committees discussed the guiding principles of the next 5-year plan. The party's Central Committee will also discuss the guiding principles of the plan in the coming days. Taking these discussions into consideration, the national planning office is now preparing a draft bill on the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the people's economy which will be submitted to the National Assembly in December. In the final phase of this work we spoke with Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi, chairman of the national planning office, and requested him to answer a few questions that were raised also in the social discussions.

[Question] It is a conspicuous feature of the new 5-year plan--and this was noted also in the discussions--that it is more open than the previous ones, that it has rather the character of a framework. What has made this necessary and what is the advantage of this?

[Answer] The economic-political line of the plan under preparation has met with general approval at the social discussions, notably the fact that more rapid structural changes are needed even in a period of fairly moderate growth. Therefore the plan will lay down many new qualitative requirements, although it is true that these can be expressed less readily in terms of figures than quantitative specifications. For instance, the plan sets the aim of a more vigorous development of sectors that produce assets of greater technical and intellectual value, a more rapid application of scientific achievements in production and an increase in the ratio of more competitive products.

The plan contains the basic characteristics of social and economic development; therefore it has an economic-political character, from which it follows that it is more open. Such a plan stimulates organizations and state institutes engaged in economic activity; indeed, it makes it inevitable that they themselves elaborate the most rational and rapid means for attaining the qualitative objectives laid down in the plan. The plan defines in terms of figures the general development and main structural interconnections of the economy and puts these to the fore, but not details that can be shaped and frequently change as one goes along. This planning style is consistent with the gradually developing phase of intensive development and our system of economic direction and necessarily follows from them. Accentuating the main economic-political line does not diminish requirements but it does ensure the economic independence of enterprises and cooperatives which we are obliged to grant them by the resolution of the 12th [MSZMP] Congress as well.

[Question] What role do external economic conditions play in the openness of the plan?

[Answer] Of course international economic relations play a great role in the plan's more open nature. It is generally known that today's world economy is extremely changeable and changes cannot be accurately foreseen. Under such external circumstances it is not only more difficult to define tasks for five years in advance, but a more detailed plan would also involve the danger that, contrary to our intentions, it would slow down development of the necessary changes. This applies primarily to our relations with the capitalist and developing countries and, to some extent, to cooperation within CEMA as well.

As with previous plans, we determine major dimensions in our relations with the CEMA countries through a coordination of plans. This gives us security, but conditions--prices, for instance--do change during the plan period in regard to them as well. In the world around us daily changes occur that can indirectly affect even expedient contacts among the CEMA countries.

Under such conditions, if we would draw up an excessively detailed plan that would perhaps seem to make the organization of work easier now, the economy would be unable to absorb unforeseeable events and react appropriately to them.

[Question] It has also been noted that an open plan involves disadvantages as well. The plan contains fewer figures, but--as it has been said at the academy, for instance--it has a smaller inherent force of cohesion and orientation and provides less guidance in detail with regard to structural changes, for instance. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] I think that the character and methods of the Sixth 5-Year Plan constitute advantages rather than disadvantages for the economy. Its force of orientation--regarding major lines--is not smaller. It may be that its cohesive force is not as strong in every respect--at least, at the time of preparation--than that of previous detailed plans, but greater flexibility in the course of its implementation will enable us to adapt ourselves more rapidly to new conditions.

I would add that the plan is supported by several economic and social action programs that are meant to act as a cohesive force in implementation. Such programs are, for instance, the central development programs accompanying the plan. Previously these pertained primarily to state investment projects. The development programs of the Sixth 5-Year Plan are of a different nature. For practical purposes the computer program and the pharmaceuticals, insecticides and intermediate compounds [intermedier] program depends entirely on enterprise resources. The aluminum and electronics programs also are based primarily on enterprise resources. Another new feature is that we are working out detailed tasks concerning trends of technical development as well as energy and raw material conservation and the use of secondary materials. We have elaborated separate programs pertaining to housing construction and management and the development of general schools and health affairs and a thrift program to be enforced at state institutes.

Unlike previous programs, these encompass not only concepts with an economic development or investment character, but also economic organizational tasks that are indeed incumbent not exclusively on central state organs but on local organs and even social organizations as well. Thus we intend to strengthen the social ramifications of planning for the people's economy and the social character of the economic plan not only by devoting, under our more difficult economic conditions, particular attention to factors that affect people's lives, but also by attaching to the plan programs that mobilize social participation and outline trends of social activity.

[Question] How are these programs built into the plan in view of the fact that, according to previous practice, their elaboration--that of the electronics program, for instance--takes a considerably long time.

[Answer] It would be easy to reply now that the planning committee adopted a directional and final position on the electronics program two days ago. This is among the central development programs that will be approved by the government at the beginning of the plan period.

Of course, it is not a good thing if the elaboration of these programs takes longer than it should. However, that is not the main problem, but the fact that the submitted programs are not well enough prepared. [paragraph continues]

It happens that a program may be recommended for acceptance that represents a very progressive trend, yet a decision must be postponed because a whole series of technical-technological and commercial aspects remain unclear: It is not clear where we will purchase the most advanced technology, or the supply of materials or the market background are unclarified. Thus, the dilemma for decision makers is not whether to consider such a concept as progressive in principle--as is the case with the electronics development program, for instance--but what guarantee can we build into the program to ensure that the great investment is repaid to the country.

[Question] Are there any reserves or plan variants for the eventuality that circumstances and the result of management develop less favorable or more favorably than was presupposed under the plan concept?

[Answer] This requirement arose with very great emphasis already during the elaboration of the plan. We have been working on the plan for almost 3 years. At the beginning we assumed as a basis a somewhat greater rate of development, but additional limiting factors became known in the course of more detailed planning activity. Two increasingly difficult limiting factors cannot be left out of consideration. One limiting factor concerns the importing of energy sources and raw materials, and the other is the fact that to improve the equilibrium we can use at home a lesser portion of the gross national product than the amount produced. Because of these the rate had to be reduced, which has affected the previously calculated reserves as well.

Precisely for the above reasons we strove to elaborate alternate concepts in a few areas. For instance, with regard to changing raw material prices we took into consideration a variant that retains the present changes of ratios, but also a variant based on higher oil and raw material prices. We have elaborated a three-grade decision on investments: We recommend a definite decision on implementing a portion of large-scale investments. We would like to make our decision around 1983--in the second half of the plan period, subject to economic results--about another batch of them and we have designated also investments that could be made if we obtained additional resources.

[Question] This issue interests the population also from the viewpoint of whether, if our situation develops more unfavorably than we thought, we could still maintain the standard of living and whether, if the outcome of economic activity was more favorable than expected it would be possible to attain a higher standard of living than planned?

[Answer] Perhaps it is still early to raise that question. We regard the requirement to maintain the standard of living and improve living conditions as a guiding norm that must be complied with now, at the conclusion of the work of planning--and, I may add, we will continue to do so during implementation of the plan as well. Under given circumstances, we should appraise the fulfillment of this as an appreciable result. If external and internal conditions do develop more favorably than expected, that will make attainment of planned objectives more secure and may be a factor enabling us to accelerate both economic growth and the improvement of living conditions somewhat in the second half of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. I would very much like to direct the attention of public opinion to that, because linkage of the objectives to the fulfillment of requirements is more important than the openness of the plan.

[Question] The Sixth 5-Year Plan envisages a smaller rate of growth than previous medium-term plans. How can the planned rate be evaluated through an international comparison?

[Answer] As far as the rate of growth of the gross national product and industrial and agricultural production is concerned, I think it is close to the planned growth rate of the CEMA countries on a similar level of development. [paragraph continues]

If we make a broader international comparison, we can say that if a country can produce--along with a favorable structural development--a gross national product that is 14-17 percent higher in the next 5 years, that will definitely be rated as above-average, a good accomplishment.

It is not only a pun when I say that this plan envisages less growth but greater development than the previous ones. It is true that the planned average annual 3-percent increase of the gross national product is lower than under the previous medium-term plans. However, if we consider what steps we intend to take with regard to the production structure, taking advantage of the material and intellectual energies employed and the shaping of social conditions, our planned development can be regarded as more ambitious than it was in the course of the previous 5-year plans.

[Question] Requirements concerning the equilibrium of the people's economy limit the development of domestic utilization, including possibilities for consumption and development. What main ratios are we setting in this respect as compared with previous years?

[Answer] It is an important characteristic of the plan that in the utilization of the gross national product, the rate of consumption will rise to 80-82 percent from the 74-76 percent being realized in the plan period now ending, and the rate of funds earmarked for accumulation will decrease from 24-26 to 18-20 percent. (This, too, is indicative of our intentions to maintain the standard of living.) Undoubtedly the alteration of proportions will produce also a problem in that we will not have an abundance of means to allot to the modernization of production. Therefore it is very important that we spend them on modernization that brings the best results and on overhauling technology, the technical standard and organization.

[Question] Will the limited nature of investment possibilities not endanger long-term objectives and enhance the technical and technological lag of our economy?

[Answer] Under the Sixth 5-Year Plan, it is anticipated we will have approximately 100 billion forints more for investment than under the preceding 5-year plan. (Taking into account also price changes, this will extend the means for the same investment activity.) Thus, we will not have to forego the technical development necessary to increase efficiency. The more than 1,000 billion forints earmarked for investments are a great deal of money, and if we spend the portion of it allotted to productive investments truly and economically on modernizing production, we will be able to obtain a relatively larger gross national product per investment unit.

On productive large-scale investments, investments that augment domestic energy and raw material sources will have priority. A somewhat smaller portion of the overall volume of investments will be alloted to state investments, while the relative proportion of investments falling within the decision-making competence of enterprises will increase. The latter will be supplemented by a considerable amount of credit, a large portion of which will be obtainable through competition over priorities.

As for the technical-technological standard, a factor that must be taken into consideration is that several previously initiated investment projects will be put into operation in the next plan period. The inventory of fixed assets used for productive purposes will thus increase 24-27 percent in 5 years. The fact that the inventory of means will expand more rapidly than production will not only lay the foundation for the envisaged growth but also foster a favorable change in the production structure. If we add also that new development objectives are selected on the basis of efficiency, we can say that in a few areas we will even be able to reduce to a certain extent technological backwardness in comparison with the international vanguard.

[Question] It has been broached in several places also in the social discussion that--although we have repeatedly resolved to amend this--that prerequisites for the development of enterprises operating well are as yet hardly or not at all more favorable than those of poorer ones. What will we do about this in the coming plan period?

[Answer] I agree with those who say that the difference in prerequisites for development is not great enough between enterprises that operate with a larger and smaller profit. However, I regard it as exaggerated to say that the possibilities for development of the former are not at all or only slightly more favorable. I would like to be objective, and therefore I call attention to the fact that this year there are already many machine industry and chemical industry enterprises with a production increase and export volume four or five times as high as the industrial average. In the past years the larger portion of development credits went to industrial and agricultural enterprises known by public opinion--among other things, also from appreciative remarks made at the latest session of the National Assembly--as good and profitable enterprises.

However, we can only continue to enhance the possibilities for development of the good ones to the extent that we can save today the means we must still devote to supporting the weakest ones, by way of subsidies. I think that further development of our economic regulation system will open new possibilities for this. In credit policy, for instance, the employable credit funds are not apportioned in advance in such a detailed manner as previously among individual objectives, and thus a greater possibility for obtaining credit is extended to those who guarantee above-average results. The price system permits enterprises which are competitive in external markets a greater profit in domestic markets as well, and it thus enhances their possibilities for development. Also the rules of wage management must stimulate more the release of manpower and, therefore, enterprises capable of better results can pursue a more flexible wage policy. Of course, all this can take place only gradually, but possibilities for and stimuli of progress are stronger than they were at any time previously since 1968.

[Question] The plan concept prescribes preserving the standard of living attained in 1980. Another goal is that earnings should be more in keeping with performance than previously. Would the accomplishment of these two requirements simultaneously not cause tension?

[Answer] There is no doubt that standard economic rules advocate that, if wages increase more rapidly, that provides better possibilities for recognizing differences in performances and developing a more favorable social public view, because good workers are paid considerably more than average ones and everybody's wages increase. However, extraordinary rather than standard economic conditions prevail at the moment in our country, and the answer to this contradiction must be found on the basis of our own possibilities and reality. We must admit that the average annual 5-percent nominal wage increase, and the consumer price increase of almost the same extent, does not make it easier but more difficult to create income differences that are more proportional to differences in performance. Nevertheless, that is the path we must pursue.

It was a feature of the habitual outlook previously that all enterprises wanted to fulfill the average provisions laid down in the plan for the people's economy vis-a-vis their working people. Under the new conditions, it is necessary to depart gradually--up to the socially acceptable limit--from this practice. An increase of wages and incomes can be expected at enterprises where requirements of a better performance are fulfilled, and reserves in workforce, material and cost management are more rapidly exploited. The development of incomes must be linked more than heretofore to the quantity and quality of accomplished work, because it is this that conforms to our socialist principles and the requirements of our economic activity. The intention of economic direction should not simply be confined, either, to paying attention only to "maintaining the averages." [paragraph continues]

It is necessary to promote the proliferation of outstanding and good performance, and make it possible for wages to increase more--in proportion with average performances in the people's economy--where such performances are achieved.

At the same time, on our planning work we have made more allowance than previously for the social requirement of considering wage policy, social policy and the consumer price policy together, in terms of their reciprocal ramifications. We know that, in this period, the consumer price increase affects everyone even more sensitively, and this makes an effective regulation of prices and limitation of the world market inflation's impact one of the most important duties of the government.

[Question] How are living conditions developing, in what areas can they be expected to improve?

[Answer] The development of direct standard of living indexes--real wages and real incomes--has been very strongly emphasized in social and everyday discussions of the plan. In 5 years, the plan allows for a 6-7 percent rise in real income, and consumption will increase 7-9 percent. These are truly modest provisions. At the same time, the plan includes objectives that can be called very significant--increasing considerably in some areas--to improve living conditions.

I think that it deserves special attention that in this period, which is economically not an easy one, we are undertaking the construction of 340,000-390,000 dwellings, and will overhaul 90,000-100,000 dwellings and modernize 40,000-50,000 ones. All this means that, in 5 years, the housing conditions of approximately 1 and 1/2 million people will improve. We are striving particularly to alleviate the housing problems of young people and large families. We will spend 40-50 percent more on the development of general schools and health conditions than in the preceding 5 years. Our councils will have funds almost 60 percent higher than 5 years previously for maintaining, modernizing and overhauling dwellings, roads, bridges and institutes coming under their budget. These are structural changes in the apportionment of investment resources that show our very resolute endeavor to further improve living conditions. However, increasing resources is not enough. Society must organize the accomplishment of tasks in such a way as to enable the population in truly every area to lead a more sophisticated life, and so that the living conditions of every strata are improving.

[Question] When our future prospects are discussed, frequent references are made to the term "a compulsory course," meaning that our room for maneuvering has considerably narrowed. What is your opinion on this and how do you appraise external and internal prerequisites for the fulfillment of the plan?

[Answer] Changing external and internal conditions affect any country's economic policy and possibilities from two sides. These effects are interconnected and one should not simplify the matter by assuming the prevalence of an absolute compulsion of changing external conditions, because how far there is a compulsive effect depends also on how an economy responds from within to external changes. We often speak of difficulties and encourage each other less frequently by pointing out that the adaptability of many countries of a similar size and with a multifaceted economic structure is greater, and that we have not yet taken advantage of a large portion of our means for cooperation among the socialist countries.

External conditions have become rather more difficult, while internal conditions have improved in the last 2 years. I have in mind here the fact that, in 1979-80, we attained results in restoring the equilibrium, improving the product structure and modernizing economic direction. We also succeeded in conveying fairly clearly to society under what circumstances we have to work, what we intend to do and for what we request the support of society.

Those who elaborate and implement the plans are bound by the fact that they can regard as their task the augmenting of the economic foundations of a political line that has for long enjoyed the confidence of society, because it is capable of finding the path to development even in a complex world economic situation.

Communique on Guidelines

LD150830 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] The communique on yesterday's session of the party Central Committee has been published. The body, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar, has discussed and approved the recommendation put forward regarding guidelines for the Sixth 5-Year Plan, which was submitted by Secretary Ferenc Havasi. The body has also discussed and approved the draft resolution put forward by Secretary Karoly Nemeth concerning the order and work methods of the party's leading organs.

The Central Committee, having surveyed the implementation of the current 5-year plan, has stated: Thanks to purposeful work, despite the more difficult conditions, the economy is developing. Production is growing. To a modest extent the standard of living of the population is improving and the circumstances of life are getting better. The national wealth is increasing and the socialist production relations are being strengthened. In the current plan period national income is expected to increase by 19-20 percent, industrial production by 21-22 percent, agricultural production by 13-14 percent, real income per capita by 8-9 percent, and consumption by the population by 14 percent.

As a result of unfavorable world economic developments and because productivity did not increase sufficiently, it was necessary to deviate from original plan targets. It was necessary to reduce the rate of economic growth and the targets for accumulation and consumption. At the same time the development of qualitative factors, the more rational utilization of material and intellectual resources, improvement in the balance of the economy and the strengthening of the already attained standard of living were made the main tasks of economic work.

The Central Committee, on the basis of the resolutions of the party congress, has approved the guidelines for the Sixth 5-Year Plan as follows: The main task is strengthening the economic bases of social progress, securing planned, harmonious development, strengthening the standard of living already attained and improving the circumstances of life in line with the possibilities. All these require raising the standards of economic planning, guidance, and management, the modernization of production, the utilization of the achievements of science and technology and the development of international economic cooperation.

The intellectual and material resources in the sphere of scientific research and technical development must be concentrated on the tasks which directly help economic work, thereby accelerating the utilization of scientific and technical achievements at home and their dissemination. The effectiveness of investment must be improved. Productivity must increase at a faster rate than production. The import requirement or production must be reduced, and so must be the utilization of materials and energy. A larger proportion of the increase in national income must serve the improvement in the balance of payments and only a smaller proportion can be devoted to utilization at home, to accumulation and consumption.

The Central Committee agrees that the main targets of the Sixth 5-Year Plan should be as follows: National income should increase by 14-17 percent, industrial production by 19-22 percent, production in the construction industry by 11-14 percent, and agricultural production by 12-15 percent.

Internal utilization is to increase during the next 5-year plan by 3-5 percent, the total consumption by the population by 7-9 percent, real income per head by 6-7 percent, total exports by 37-39 percent, and total imports by 18-19 percent.

Industry is to fulfill domestic and export demands at a higher level and with a better composition [of products]. It is to increase exports and the manufacture of import substitutes. Economic organizations which expand exports in an economical manner and fulfill domestic demand in a profitable manner are to develop dynamically. Production which cannot be made economical must be restricted and eliminated. The expansion of production must be based on increasing efficiency, international competitiveness and on the selective development accompanying the transformation of the production structure. The composition of construction and installation work is to accord with demand; let the proportion of renewal and maintenance work increase. The modernization of the construction industry in a differentiated manner is to continue. Cost management must be improved in the construction industry as well.

Agricultural production must continue to secure the fulfillment of domestic demands and the economic expansion of goods for export. In large socialist enterprises the requirements as regards quality, profitability and economy should be manifested to a greater extent than hitherto. The contribution of agriculture to the growth of national income should be secured in this way. The activities of households and subsidiary farms, which fulfill an important role, must continue to receive support.

Transport and communications are to fulfill the requirements at a higher level. Conditions for export and transit transport must be improved. Local and commuter mass transport is to be developed at a faster rate than other branches of the transport sector. In the socialist sector 1,020-1,040 billion forints can be devoted to investment. In the productive branches this can be devoted primarily to developments which will improve competitiveness and balance in the economy and in nonproductive branches to the fulfillment of the most important social demands. Investments are to serve above all the modernization of technology, the renewal of machines and installations. Beyond those already undertaken, only a few large-scale state investments can be launched.

Reaching the targets of the Sixth 5-Year Plan requires the more efficient utilization of the labor force. The aim must be to improve the harmony between the number of jobs and the labor force. Vocational training and further training must be adjusted to real requirements. The system of interests should provide greater incentive to achieve the rational utilization of labor, to the modernization of work organizations, to improved work discipline and the regrouping of work forces which cannot be employed efficiently. All this must be achieved while continuing to maintain full employment. The employment of young people beginning work must be secured. During the first half of the planned period the 5-day week must be introduced, after suitable preparations.

The characteristics of our country make it necessary and our interests demand that we should further increase our participation in the international division of labor. By the utilization of the more developed forms, the expansion of cooperation between enterprises at home and abroad, the dynamic development of trade must be facilitated. It is the fundamental precondition of our economic development that we should expand our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. We are taking an active part in the development of socialist economic integration, in the deepening of specialization and coproduction and in the realization of the long-term target programs.

Let our economic relations expand with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Cooperation should extend, beyond expanding trade, to market research, modern production organization, the introduction of technological achievements at home and the establishment of joint ventures.

With the developing countries we are expanding our economic cooperation in accordance with our mutual interests, making better use of the possibilities inherent in the relations which have developed, thus supporting their endeavors in strengthening their political and social independence.

The main goal of the standard of living policy is the preservation and strengthening of the level already attained and improving the circumstances of life. The income and consumption of the population are to be in harmony with economic performance and with the improvement in the position of balance. The principle of distribution according to work must be realized more consistently; wages must be more in line with performance.

In the sphere of social policy main attention must be given to improving the situation of families with several children, pensioners with low incomes, and those in handicapped situations. The real value of family supplements paid to families with three or more children, of low pensions and the catering norms of health, social and educational institutions must be maintained. The real value of the lowest pensions must be raised. Family supplements paid to families with two children, to single-parent families, child care allowances, students' grants and social assistance can justifiably be increased. In the sphere of improving the circumstances of life the primary task is improving basic provisions.

The conditions of health provisons and education in the general schools must be developed at a rate faster than the average. Creche and nursery provisions must be improved. The places for the large numbers in the general school-age groups must be secured by the construction of new establishments and by temporary solutions. At the same time existing educational, health and cultural facilities must be utilized better, devoting greater attention to using them for different purposes.

During the planned period 370,000-390,000 dwellings are to be built; 115,000-120,000 new apartments are to be brought about on the basis of state investment and approximately 100,000 dwellings should be renewed or modernized from state funds. The state support given to the construction of dwellings by individuals and groups of individuals is to be continued and expanded. Housing management must be improved; the contribution by the population to the costs of building and maintaining dwellings must be made more just proportionally. Apartment exchanges must be facilitated by incentives and organizational measures. As a result of all these factors, the housing circumstances of approximately 1.5 million citizens will improve during the next 5 years.

The harmonization of purchasing power and the stock of goods continues to be an important requirement. Securing a continuous supply of a sufficient volume of goods and the expansion of choice in line with the possibilities are the primary tasks. Perceptible improvements must be made in the services for the population by providing incentives and support for state enterprises, the cooperatives and private artisans and shops.

The directing organs are to oversee regularly the fulfillment of the plan and are to bring in the necessary measures in time. The economic regulators are to provide incentives for the better utilization of the possibilities and reserves and for more economical production. Enterprises should place the emphasis in their own plans on effecting improvements in the production structure, making rational economies, the efficient utilization of material and intellectual resources and raising the level of their work.

Initiative by the economic leaders must develop; let the management method and style characterized by initiative and rapid adjustment to changes become typical. It is this conduct which must receive political support and social acknowledgement. The workers must be suitably informed as regards the situation and work of the enterprise and must be drawn more into the determination of tasks. This must facilitate the mobilization and collaboration of the collectives for the realization of social and enterprise goals. Social control must be strengthened.

The plans, finances, sources, and income of the councils are to develop in harmony with the goals of the plan and of regional development; their economic independence should be strengthened. The initiatives of the population serving the realization of the urban and settlement policy goals should be supported.

The helping and controlling activity of party organs and organizations are to be directed at the realization of the economic policy goals contained in the plan. Mass political work, the press, radio and television are to deal with our economic situation in a realistic way; they are to inform the population about goals. They are to support correct endeavors and are to take a stand against negative phenomena, mobilizing for the realization of the plan. The Central Committee has stated that the social debate was useful from the aspect of the preparation of the plan. The body has expressed its conviction that the goals of the Sixth 5-Year Plan are realistic. They can be realized. Their attainment will serve well the interests of our people and the development of our socialist homeland. It calls on the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, our entire people to give the best of their strength and skill in participating in the realization of the plan.

[Budapest MTI in English at 1015 GMT on 15 November in its report of the communique adds the following:

[It is the profound conviction of the Central Committee that the targets of the 6th Five-Year Plan are realistic, attainable. Their accomplishment well serves the interests of our people, the development of our socialist country. The Central Committee calls upon the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, our entire people to participate in accomplishing the plan, giving the best of their strength, knowledge.

[In accordance with the working style of our party the Central Committee will review and control its own activity from time to time, bring it into harmony with the requirements of the actual tasks ahead of the party. This is based on that important experience of the more than six decades long fight of our party that the proper, correct operation of its elected bodies, primarily the Central Committee, is indispensable for the fulfillment of its historical mission, the efficient enforcement of its leading role. At the first session of the Central Committee elected at the 12th congress, in March 1980, it decided to examine the working order and method of the leading bodies of the party, departing from the resolution of the congress.

[The Central Committee brought a comprehensive resolution on the development of its working method in 1968. The present investigation stated that the working method, on the basis of the resolution concerning this, developed in a good direction.

[The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party develops its policy on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Leninist norms are consistently enforced in the life and activity of the party. Decisions are brought by elected bodies at every level.
The Central Committee designates the direction of work with resolutions of a principled character, for longer ranges. The medium and lower level party organs, the primary party organizations, carry out their work with great independence and wide sphere of authority.

[The party ensures with ideologico-political guidance that the principles of socialism and the targets of building socialism be enforced in our society. Having respect for the independence of the state and social organs, it enforces its policy resolutions by way of the communists working there.

[The Central Committee, following the guidance of the party congresses, continuously places on the agenda the tasks ripened by social progress, assures the solving of arising contradictions, harmonization of the interests of the working classes strata, organizes and mobilizes the creative forces of society for realizing the most important tasks of building socialism.

[The Central Committee strengthened the hitherto practice of the superior leading bodies of the party, which utilizes the principled and political experiences of the many decades long work of the party. It pointed out that further strengthening the leading role of the party, the more harmonized cooperation of the party, state and social organs, solving the tasks presenting higher demands, primarily requires that the Central Committee continue its tested practice, develop its guiding, controlling work.

[The Central Committee will make public the resolution accepted concerning its working order and method in the party's periodicals.]

LOSONCZI RECEIVES UN FOOD, AGRICULTURE DIRECTOR

LD172306 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 17 Nov (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, received on Monday in Budapest Edouard Saouma, director general of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, currently visiting Hungary. Also present at the meeting was Hungarian Agricultural and Food Industry Minister Jeno Vancsa.

BRIEFS

TRANSPORT TALKS WITH SFRY--Budapest, 14 Nov (MTI)--The Hungarian-Yugoslav transport and telecommunication sub-committee has held its 13th session in west Hungarian Keszthely. Headed by Hungarian Communication and Post Under Secretary Lajos Urban and Yugoslav Deputy Transport and Telecommunication Minister Miljenko Sikic, the two delegations discussed the outcome of Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation until now. They considered work done so far in building common frontier railway stations and tasks related with bilateral and transit passenger and goods traffic. The sub-committee also studied the possibility for improving air and road traffic and determined further tasks for transport cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 14 Nov 80 LD]

FRG AMBASSADOR--Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly had received for a farewell visit Dr Johannes Balser, ambassador of the FRG, who has departed permanently from Budapest. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

COOPERATION COMMITTEE WITH FRENCH--The Hungarian-French mixed committee for industrial and technical cooperation held a session on 5 and 6 November in Paris. It noted that barter trade between the two countries is developing more dynamically and evenly than previously, and amounted to over $320 million last year. Joint ventures between enterprises have expanded, mainly in the areas of computer technology, electronics, agricultural machine building, the chemical industry, light-structure construction, seed propagation and cattle breeding. A protocol was signed on the session. [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Nov 80 p 7 AU]

JEDYNAK, SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL SPEAK ON GDANSK AGREEMENT

LD171322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Agreements between the government commission and the representatives of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of Education and Training Workers and Health Service Workers, who have been on strike for more than 1 week, were signed at the voivodship headquarters in Gdansk this morning.

(?The agreements) determine the method of implementing Point No 8 of the 31 August Gdansk agreement as far as the health service [words indistinct], the question of spending for the purposes of health protection and social security, and sets the date of 25 November as the day on which talks will be continued between representatives of relevant ministries and the delegation of health service employees affiliated to Solidarity concerning implementing the remaining demands of this group of workers. Demands presented to the government commission yesterday will form the basis for the talks.

The (?tenth) point [words indistinct] strike committee of health service workers representatives pledges to end the strike and all protest action at 0735 today.

The first point of the agreement reached with the workers of the Ministry of Culture has also been initialed. This concerns the participation of culture in the division of the national [word indistinct]. Talks concerning the remaining demands were continued.

After the signing of the document Minister Andrzej Jedynak, chairman of the commission and government plenipotentiary for the implementation of the Gdansk agreement, and Alina Pienkowska, chairman of the delegation of the Solidarity trade union of the health service, took the floor:

[Begin recording] [Jedynak] Respected audience, on the occasion of the signing of this protocol I wish, on behalf of the government, to state that the government's position is to observe fully the agreement signed in Gdansk on 31 August 1980. I would also like to express the conviction that (?the signing) of the protocols to the agreement, in conditions such as these, will be regarded as being of historic consequence.

We have taken a considerable step forward toward improving the conditions of labor and wages for health service workers, to the extent to which the national economy can afford it at present. What we face is a whole plan for further improving the situation concerning the conditions of employment for health service workers. I would therefore like to sincerely thank you for these talks which, after all, have not been easy, as well as to express the hope that we will jointly observe the decisions signed today. Thank you very much. [short applause]

[Pienkowska] On behalf of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of Health Service Workers, I would like to thank the chairman of the government commission, Minister Jedynak, and the entire government commission as well as our expert, Mr Maciek Pacinski, for all the effort that you have put in to (?reach) the final accords. Thank you very much. [short applause] [end recording]

Comment on Dispute's End

LD172022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Commentator (Jerzy Krocinski) Gdansk dispatch]

[Text] Plenary discussions and negotiations in working teams of the government commission and the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity strike committees of health service, science and education and culture workers have been in progress almost without a break from Saturday morning at the voivodship office in Gdansk.

They were long, difficult and heated talks, but at the same time very businesslike. This is no surprise.

After all, they concerned the professional groups whose actions greatly influence the life of the community. The talks were difficult because the implementation of the mostly justified demands requires financial outlays which in the country's present situation are difficult to find.

During the talks the negotiating sides both demonstrated a great deal of reason, good will and mutual understanding. None of the government representatives denied the justified character of the matters under discussion, merely pointing out the difficulties in implementing them on the scale and in the time demanded by strike committees.

The agreements which have been signed today regulate all matters concerning the only possible scale and method in present conditions. This is not, of course, everything desired by us, the citizens using the services and work of doctors, teachers and culture workers. But this is the best that our country can afford and at the same time it constitutes an important step on the road to further settling and resolving all the spheres of life of the fatherland and its citizens.

The agreements contain the framework, or in some matters, details, of the decisions on implementing these agreements. As stressed in their closing speeches by Minister Jedynak and the leader of the delegation of the Solidarity health workers Alina Pienkowska, both sides attach greatest importance to the full and consistent implementation of all the points of today's agreements.

This was immediately expressed in the announcement of the ending of the strike and all protest action the minute the agreements were signed, at 0735 today.

The representatives of the health service, science and education and culture from all over the country, who stayed for a dozen or so days in the office of the voivodship office in Gdansk, have returned to their places of work and residence. Students of the medical academy are also returning. Work has continued without any interruptions in the last few days in the health service units, schools and cultural centers. Today the work has become somewhat easier, as the reasons for annoyance and anger have disappeared, together with the subjects of the very heated discussion which no doubt must have made the work more difficult and less efficient.

The situation of our country and each one of us is not easy. Right now the most important matters are good work at every place and in each profession and the climate in which this work is conducted. The awareness of the consistent and joint implementation of the social agreement, an apt name for the Gdansk agreement of (?31) December [as heard], should encourage this good climate. The successful conclusion of today's talks in Gdansk proves that words and actions in Poland, in November 1980, go together hand in hand; that Poles can agree, in their common interest, on each, even the most difficult, issue.

SOLIDARITY SCIENCE, EDUCATION DELEGATES ATTEND CONGRESS

LD170340 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Nov (PAP)--The national congress of the Consultative Committee for Science of the "Solidarnosc" union opened at Warsaw University today. It is attended by "Solidarnosc" delegates from all scientific, research and education centres in Poland as well as invited guests and observers. The delegates were welcomed [by] the university's rector Professor Henryk Samsonowiocz. He wished them fruitful debates.

The congress discussion was held in specialized sections and concerned organizational matters and working contacts, organizational assistance for the union, autonomy of higher schools and science, wages and social affairs. The debates were realistic and heated as regards certain matters.

The discussion focused on the organization of Solidarnosc's internal structure, wage problems in the scientific milieu, Saturdays off, collective labour contracts and the autonomy of higher schools and science.

Many concrete issues were raised, including the organizational structure of science, and various solutions to them were proposed (e.g. competition for rectors' posts, elections of university senates, faculty councils and other collective bodies).

A limitation in the powers of the minister of higher education and technology was postulated. The delegates warned against too quick a pace of work on the resolution on higher education and pointed to the need for comprehensive and far-reaching solutions.

More on Meeting

LD171404 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] The conference of the National Consultative Commission for Science of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity met at Warsaw University all day on Sunday. A controversy was created by the invitation to a delegation of the main board of the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP] to the conference from its organizers. Delegates from Gdansk, Gdynia and Wroclaw opposed this, saying that the ZNP was carrying on activity to disrupt the agreement between scientific workers and the government. After an open vote, there was agreement on the presence of the delegation. The discussion focused on pay issues for scientific workers, on the autonomy of universities and science, on the eligibility of the senate and rectors and on the degree of dependence of the university on the ministry.

End of Congress

LD171636 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] The national congress of the National Consultative Commission for Education of the Independent, Self-Governing, Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity held in Warsaw has ended. The congress was attended by delegates of Solidarity from all university and research centers throughout the country. Also attending were invited guests and observers.

The congress passed among others a resolution on the project dealing with the precepts for the introduction of a 5-day working week put forward by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. Thre resolution suggests that the whole project should be sent back for further study. It also suggests that the introduction of free Saturdays should be connected with the shortening of the weekly working hours.

The resolution also expresses support for the just demands of teachers represented by the National Consultative Commission of Education and Training Workers of the NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk. The congress has also discussed questions pertaining to the self-government of education and autonomy of schools of higher learning, as well as the manner and schedule of work on the pay system for employees of scientific centers. The congress refused to participate as third party in talks between the government commission and the Gdansk commission of delegates of the Polish Teachers' Union.

MINERS UNION CONGRESS DECIDES ON ORGANIZATIONAL 'RENEWAL'

LD171854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] At the 12th national congress of the Miners Trade Union in Katowice, union activists decided to undertake a renewal of their mining organization, defining themselves as an independent, democratic and fully self-governing trade union. This is a congress of great importance to the future of the mining movement which has a tradition of nearly 80 years in Poland. At present there are two trade union organizations active in the mines. Because a large proportion of the work force joined Solidarity we believe, the activists of the Miners Trade Union stressed, that for the good of mining workforces it will be possible to create a platform uniting all those who are sincerely linked with the mining profession.

New Statute, Chairman's Election

LD181000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] After 20 hours of debate, the 12th national congress of the Miners Trade Union ended its deliberations in Katowice early this morning.

Together with representatives of the ministries of mining, metallurgy, and power and atomic energy, many key problems of concern to working people in individual mining branches and milieu were discussed.

A new statute of the Miners Trade Union was passed, in which it is defined as a self-governing, democratic and independent trade union organization. By a congress resolution, the Miners Trade Union has left the trade union association.

In a secret ballot, a main board plenum was elected as well as a main auditing commission. The chairman of the main board is a miner from Zabrze colliery, Jan Konieczny, who was reelected.

GOVERNMENT, COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS SIGN AGREEMENT

LD180038 Warsaw PAP in English 2029 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP)--Agreements between the Ministry of Communication and the trade unions grouping communication workers, concerning the deadlines for and ways of carrying out the conclusions and postulates put forth by the employees of communication enterprises and organization units, were signed today after prolonged negotiations.

In Warsaw the agreement was signed with the board of the communication of employees' trade union, in Gdansk--with the strike committee of the Independent, Self-Governed Solidarnosc Communication Employees' Union. A sit-in strike in the district post and telecommunication management office in Gdansk ended when the agreement was signed.

Both agreements regulate the amount and distribution of money for pay raises for individual professions in communication. These raises give preference to people with the lowest wages. The agreements also set out deadlines for the ministry working out an amended pay system. They regulate the issue of bonuses for seniority, work on holidays, night and afternoon shifts, as well as the question of raising old-age and disability pensions for former communication employees.

LUBLIN SOLIDARITY GROUP SUSPENDS MEETING WITH GOVERNMENT

LD171154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] A meeting has ended in Lublin of representatives of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity from more than 80 metal industry plants. The aim of the meeting was to discuss with the government commission which had been invited to Lublin the demands of Solidarity concerning the implementation of the Gdansk agreement and the agreement on collective settlements. The meeting and talks with the government commission have been suspended after reading an appeal signed by Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak and Jan (Griazda) in which they ask on behalf of the National Consultative Commission that all actions undertaken throughout the country by Solidarity be stopped. The most important thing at the moment for Solidarity is talks with government commissions on the subject of the health service and education and cultural employees. The documents worked out by the teams and subcommissions in Lublin will be presented to the National Consultative Commission, which will be meeting in Szczecin Wednesday and will make a decision on the date for resuming talks with the government commission in the Lublin truck factory.

GRABSKI WRITES ON CHANGES, ATTITUDE TOWARD NEW TRADE UNIONS

AU142120 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Grabski: "The Party and the Changes in the Trade Union Movement"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONISM HAVE BEEN THE FOCUS OF PUBLIC OPINION FOR A FEW MONTHS NOW. LAST SUMMER THEY WERE ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT, KEY ISSUES OF DRAMATIC SOCIAL TENSION. THE QUESTIONS THAT AT THAT TIME AROSE WITH REGARD TO THE CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATIONAL SHAPE OF TRADE UNIONS WERE SETTLED BY THE SZCZECIN, GDANSK AND JASTRZEBIE AGREEMENTS SIGNED BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STRIKING WORKFORCES AND THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS. THE PARTY TOOK THE VIEW THAT IF A LARGE SECTION OF THE WORKERS ON STRIKE SAW A POSSIBILITY FOR RENEWING TRADE UNIONISM THROUGH CREATING NEW STRUCTURES, SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE OLD STRUCTURES, THEN THEIR WILL SHOULD BE RESPECTED AND RESPONDED TO.

Representatives of workforces accepted the condition that the trade unions created as a result of the agreements in question will conduct their activities in keeping with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, will recognize the PZPR's leading role in the state and the state's interstate alliances, and will in no case assume the role of a political party.

The State Council's resolution setting out the principles for registering the new trade unions has created conditions for their legal activities, for showing initiative and for fulfilling their role within the Polish system of socialist democracy. That has resulted in the burgeoning development of a new trade union movement in our country, based on the same socialist political platform, but divided organizationally. Actually, there are now three parallel trade union structures: the renewed branch trade unions, which are transforming themselves; the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions "Solidarity;" and several trade unions organized in various communities in keeping with the workforces' will.

LET US STATE OPENLY: WE HAVE A QUALITATIVELY NEW SITUATION, ONE THAT IS UNPRECEDENTED IN THE PRACTICE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN POLAND, ONE THAT REQUIRES THAT ALL THE PEOPLE CONCERNED AND OUR ENTIRE COMMUNITY TO ANALYZE IT THOROUGHLY, AND ONE THAT CALLS FOR AMASSING AND GENERALIZING THE INCOMING EXPERIENCE, WHICH IS NEW IN OUR PRACTICE TO DATE. LIFE WILL SOLVE ISSUES THAT ARE VAGUE OR DOUBTFUL AT PRESENT.

HOWEVER, WE CAN ALREADY STATE THAT THE TRADE UNION ISSUE IN OUR COUNTRY HAS BECOME A PRINCIPLED [PRYNCIPIALNY] POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ISSUE OF GREAT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. IT IS A POLITICAL ISSUE BECAUSE THE CHARACTER, PLACE AND ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN POLAND. IT IS ALSO A POLITICAL ISSUE BECAUSE THE FORCES THAT ARE ALIEN AND HOSTILE TO THAT SYSTEM AND THAT WENT TO WEAKEN OR EVEN TO REPLACE, AND NOT IMPROVE IT, WOULD LIKE TO INFLUENCE THE CHANGES THAT ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. Of course, those forces are not within the workers class, because the workers class' interests are identical with the interests of socialism. But those forces exist and are trying to conduct their activities, penetrate various communities and influence certain bodies of the trade union movement. Such is reality, and we should know it.

THE ISSUE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS ALSO IDEOLOGICAL, BECAUSE THE CHANGES IN THIS MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS NEW SHAPE SHOULD BE EXAMINED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM THAT OUR MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY FOLLOWS AND IS AND WILL BE FAITHFUL TO. Socialism differs from other social systems in that, among other things, it does not develop haphazardly, but on the basis of the scientific, theoretical principles that are a synthesis of the present experience of social development. What is important in that regard is not dogma, but conscious efforts, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, to steer the processes of development in the interest of progress.

Our party's attitude to the manifestations of the Polish trade union movement is clear, open and candid. [paragraph continues]

We have demonstrated this many times, from the signing of the agreements in question by the government commissions, through the position defined by the sixth PZPR plenum, the speeches by the members of the party leadership, and the everyday practice of talks and dialogues about all issues, including the most difficult. The public is familiar with those talks and dialogues.

OUR POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS BASED ON THE GENERAL PREMISES WHICH WERE FORMULATED IN KEEPING WITH THE MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES.

PREMISE ONE: WE TAKE THE VIEW--WE ARE GUIDED AND WILL BE GUIDED BY IT--THAT THE MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE, ITS ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC APPARATUS SHOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY THE INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING ACTIVITIES OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS AND BY COOPERATION.

A trade union movement that is independent in action and that accepts the socialist system will be an important element of the system of socialist democracy. It will enrich and strengthen that system in the overriding interest of the country and the people; that is, in the interest of unceasing social progress and of consolidating the achievements of socialism.

Cooperation and permanent collaboration between the state and the trade union movement are just as necessary as that movement's independence. That is because both the state and the trade unions have the same final goal: to create and improve the socialist social order in our country, and to create better and better conditions for the people's life and development. The areas of that cooperation throughout the state and such as in the state's individual organizations, including enterprises and factories, are enormous and should cover all the most important issues of community life. However, cooperation between the trade union movement and the state apparatus cannot result--as was the case in the past--in pushing the trade unions to the sidelines, in imposing on them the administration's views, in reducing their role and in ignoring the function of the trade union movement, which, by virtue of its very class nature, is called to represent the working people's interests. After all, such manifestations are the main source of deformations and of the loss of independence and self-government of trade unions in their activities. Those deformations were a deviation from the principles of the socialist system and were rejected by the party. They will never return.

PREMISE TWO: THE PARTY PROCEEDS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT TRADE UNIONS CAN EFFECTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IF THEY CONSISTENTLY DEFEND THE WORKERS INTERESTS AND TAKE CARE OF WORKING CONDITIONS, JUST WAGES AND BROADLY CONCEIVED LIVING CONDITIONS OF WORKFORCES AND THEIR FAMILIES. Trade unions must fulfill those duties because even under conditions of the socialist system there may be cases in which the administrative apparatus violates general principles. Of course, conflicts so caused are not of a class, antagonistic character. That is why the role of the trade union movement in preventing irregularities and restricting their range may be all the more constructive.

Of course, everyone must learn the skill of conducting dialogue on those issues, both representatives of the administrative and economic apparatus and trade union activists. That is not easy but is feasible and, above all, necessary.

HOWEVER, WHEN FULFILLING THAT MAIN DUTY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, TRADE UNION ACTIVISTS MUST BE AWARE OF ALL THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE DUTY OF REPRESENTING AND DEFENDING THE WORKERS' INTERESTS IS IMPLEMENTED IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. BECAUSE OF ITS VERY CLASS NATURE, THE SOCIALIST STATE GUARANTEES THE SUPREMACY OF SOCIAL GOALS. THAT STATE ALSO HAS THE DUTY TO TAKE CARE OF WORKING CONDITIONS, OF A JUST DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME, OF JUST WAGES--IN A WORD TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS CLASS AND OTHER STRATA OF SOCIETY. The law is the guardian of those interests. Managers and heads of factories, enterprises and departments also have to fulfill that duty. After all, they are not exclusively organizers of production processes. They are part of the socialist political system. Under our conditions where there are no private owners of the means of production, there are no antagonistic "sides." All the echelons of the system represent the interests of the working people, and no echelon of this system possesses a monopoly with regard to concern for the working people's interests.

That is why the specific characteristic of the trade union movement's role is that the movement is not an exclusive defender of the workers' interests. Such exclusiveness would result in an artificial and, in consequence, harmful opposition of trade unions vis-a-vis the state. That specific characteristic involves the task of representing and defending some of those interests and, what is more important, of pursuing social methods of activities, which are an irreplaceable and peculiar feature of the trade union movement alone.

PREMISE THREE: WE PROFESS THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, A UNITY CONCEIVED ABOVE ALL AS THE UNITY OF AIMS, OF THE WORKERS CLASS' INTERESTS AND OF THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGICAL PLATFORM. THE SOCIALIST CHARACTER OF THE NEW TRADE UNIONS WAS DEFINED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND FOUND ITS CONFIRMATION IN THE AGREEMENTS IN QUESTION. THAT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH RESTRICTING THE SELF-GOVERNING AND INDEPENDENT CHARACTER OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH A TRADE UNION UNITY, VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS CAN DEVELOP UNDER SPECIFIC CONDITIONS.

Such a situation has now arisen in Poland as a result of an acute social crisis. The sixth PZPR plenum gave a general evaluation of the sources of that crisis and laid bare the manifestations and processes that brought about tensions and deformations. During discussions, people leveled sharp criticism at the previous activities of the trade unions and at the attempts to curtail their role in the country's life. The direction and substance of that criticism are now common knowledge. The necessary conclusions have been drawn, the process of improving the existing structure of the trade union movement has begun, positive changes in branch trade unions are taking place and efforts are being made to invigorate them and to strengthen their self-government.

New structures are also being created. The development of new trade unions is proceeding relatively rapidly and a large part of the working people is for them because they see in them a guarantee of stronger social control over the state's economic and social policy and an opportunity to accelerate socialist changes in our country.

THE RECENT REGISTRATION OF THE INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNION "SOLIDARITY" CLOSED THE FIRST STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS TRADE UNION, A STAGE CHARACTERIZED BY SPONTANEITY, CERTAIN IMPROVISATIONS AND A TEMPORARY CHARACTER. THE ACT OF REGISTRATION DENOTES THE LEGAL STABILITY OF THAT TRADE UNION. THE INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNIONS [NSZZ] "SOLIDARITY" IS A LEGAL ORGANIZATION ACTIVE WITHIN THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF POLAND. AT THE SAME TIME, THAT REGISTRATION BECAME A FORM OF RECOGNITION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AIMS PROFESSED BY THE NSZZ "SOLIDARITY" AND THE STATE'S CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

That has created a basis for the new trade unions to promote normal activities and to develop in a democratic way their final structure and authority. We are convinced that elections, which are beginning to take place, will produce a representation worthy of the Polish workers class and dedicated to its interests.

The implementation of those interests makes it necessary--such is the objective necessity--for the entire trade union movement to focus its attention on participating in solving the problems now facing the entire workers class and all the people. That is because there is no other way to fulfill the workers expectations and hopes then to participate in producing the national income and in sharing it equitably, than to sponsor and support efforts aimed at improving the methods of managing and administering the national economy and at rationally utilizing the qualifications and skills of the workforce.

That is because trade unions in a socialist society cannot restrict their activities only to controlling or correcting the state's socioeconomic policy and to submitting demands and proposals. I REPEAT ONCE AGAIN: THE PARTY WILL CONSISTENTLY MAINTAIN THE POSITION THAT DEFENSE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S RIGHTS AND INTERESTS SHOULD BE THE MAIN SPHERE OF THE TRADE UNIONS' ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, WE MUST ALL CLEARLY REALIZE THAT THE TRADE UNIONS REPRESENT AND DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AS CONSUMERS, AS PRODUCERS, AS EMPLOYEES AND AS COMANAGERS OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH ARE A SOCIAL PROPERTY.

The experience of the past few years has shown that trade unions are unable to fulfill their proper role if they deal exclusively or mainly with production problems. However, it is also true that they are unable to play the role of genuine representatives of the workers class if they limit their interest only to concern for the distribution of the national income. After all, trade unions are mass organizations of producers of goods within the socialized economy, which makes profits for all the people and not for private owners.

Of course, the point is to ensure that such goods are shared equitably. That is the crux of our system. However, if we want to share those goods, then we must have as many of them as possible. That is why the trade union movement cannot help being aware of those two factors and of their mutual interdependence. It must see that trade union members strengthen their socialist attitude toward work and toward honest and reliable fulfillment of the duties allotted to them.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE POLISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED. NEW ORGANIZATIONS ARE BEING SET UP ALL THE TIME, DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS ARE CONTINUING AND CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE EXISTING BRANCH TRADE UNIONS. IN LIGHT OF THE ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE, IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO AGAIN DEFINE THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO WORK OUT THE BEST POSSIBLE MODEL OF THE MOVEMENT AND OF ITS RIGHTS AND DUTIES, AS WELL AS THE BEST POSSIBLE MODEL OF RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE, ITS BODIES AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC APPARATUS.

THOSE PROBLEMS ARE NOW BEING TACKLED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE TRADE UNION LAW, SET UP BY THE STATE COUNCIL. THE LAW WILL DEFINE THE STATUS OF TRADE UNIONS IN KEEPING WITH THE REQUIREMENTS AND CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN POLAND.

Among other things the draft law provides for the guaranteed right to strike. However, that must not mean that one can abuse that right. Under our conditions, a strike should be treated as an ultimate means that can be used after all possibilities to settle a dispute and to achieve reconciliation have been exhausted. We must also state that it is out of the question to use that right under any pretext as an instrument of political pressure. Using a strike as an instrument of political pressure is a glaring abuse of the right to strike. Instead of acting as a defense against errors and distortions, the right to strike so deformed becomes an instrument directed against socialism and against the workers class and its most vital interests.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE PLURALITY OF WORKERS REPRESENTATIONS POSES THE TASK OF CREATING CONDITIONS FOR THE COMPLETE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE UNITY OF ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKERS CLASS. THAT INTEREST IS INDIVISIBLE. NO DOUBT THAT IS WHY THE TRADE UNIONS WILL DISCOVER THE NECESSARY FORMS OF UNDERSTANDING, COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION. IN MANY FACTORIES THAT COOPERATION IS ALREADY FAVORABLE. THE PROPAGATION OF SUCH EXPERIENCE WILL STIMULATE THE PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATING AND STRENGTHENING THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT'S UNITY ON A COMMON SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

GLOS PRACY REPRINTS JASTRZEBIE SOLIDARITY STATEMENT

AU171230 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 10 Nov 80 pp 1,2,3

[Reprint of a statement by the Jastrzebie Solidarity Committee: "Jastrzebie 'Solidarity' About Itself: Activities, Plans and Aspirations"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, WHICH APPEARS IN KATOWICE, PUBLISHED A STATEMENT PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY THE INTERFACTORY WORKERS COMMITTEE--THE FOUNDING COMMITTEE "SOLIDARITY" IN JASTRZEBIE. WE ARE REPRINTING THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT.

At the meeting in the "30th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic" coal mine held on the 12th [not further specified] between the Interfactory Workers Committee-the founding committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions in Jastrzebie-Zdroj and the delegates of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity," who represent almost 3 million of our members affiliated with the factory workers committees in several voivodships, two demands (side by side with important socio-economic and organizational issues) occupied an important place--demands that in the view of all participants in the meeting and, we dare think, of a decisive majority of our people, are of crucial significance, not only for the trade union movement in our country.

The first demand concerned the strict observance, in trade union activities, of the principles of our state's system that are listed in chapter one of our Constitution, including especially the clarification of the mutual relations between the PZPR and the "Solidarity" trade union. The second demand, closely related to the first, asked for a more extensive explanation of "Solidarity's" attitude toward issues concerning the world outlook, since some draft trade union statutes either do not discuss these issues at all--this is what "Solidarity" did--or declare their "lay" character, which applies in the main to the branch trade unions, which are more or less connected with the "old" trade union movement.

Although our general view is that it is not for us as a trade union to take a position on purely political issues because they are actually outside our statutory rights and duties as trade unionists, we realize that these issues, which are important for the people and have been tackled by them, not only require a clear reply in a specific single case, but also induce us once again to recall--through the good offices of DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, which is a civic and trade union "free forum"--the principles that we follow in our activities, and to restate our tenets as a trade union organization.

WE ARE AND ALWAYS WANT TO REMAIN A TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AND NOT A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH MAKES IT OBVIOUS THAT WE DO NOT SEEK TO EXERCISE POWER OR TRY TO WIN IT IN ANY FORM OR SHAPE. HOWEVER, WE WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT, AS REGARDS THE ISSUES THAT INTEREST OUR MEMBERS AND THAT ARE MENTIONED IN THE "SOLIDARITY" STATUTES, THE DECISIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE NEEDS OF THE WORLD OF LABOR. THAT MEANS THAT WE WANT TO INFLUENCE SUCH DECISIONS, ALTHOUGH WE WILL NOT MAKE THEM, BECAUSE WE ARE A GOVERNMENT BODY.

THERE IS A PLACE IN OUR CONSTITUTION for independent, self-governing and therefore effective activity of our trade union (effective because it is free from the bureaucratic obstacles created by the authorities and free from arbitrary decisions that were made in the past on our affairs without our participation and even against our interests). It is necessary to interpret our Constitution, in keeping with its letter and spirit, in a dynamic and not static manner, because the Constitution itself contains such a general directive.

THAT DYNAMIC CHARACTER OF OUR CONSTITUTION, A CHARACTER THAT IS OPEN TO THE NEEDS OF OUR SOCIETY'S LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT AND THAT WE WILL FIRMLY INSIST ON, IS THE BASIC LEGAL GUARANTEE OF OUR EFFECTIVE ACTIVITIES--BECAUSE THEY ARE INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING--AS A TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.

That is why both the agreements signed in the coastal region and in Jastrzebie leave not the slightest doubt that OUR TRADE UNION DOES NOT INTEND TO PLAY THE ROLE OF A POLITICAL PARTY, AND THAT IN ITS ACTIVITIES IT WILL STICK TO ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR CONSTITUTION WITHOUT EXCEPTION (without any interpretation that weakens or expands these principles, that is, which is inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Constitution....)

Bearing in mind that no one (not even those who have no knowledge of the constitutional laws) can doubt that the rules of the Constitution are the most important and authoritative rules, we further state that we fully agree with the tenets contained in Article Six of the Constitution, which states: IN ITS POLICY, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC 1) FOLLOWS THE INTERESTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, SECURITY, THE WILL TO PEACE AND COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS; 2) SUPPORTS THE NOBLE TRADITIONS OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE FORCES OF FREEDOM AND PROGRESS AND STRENGTHENS FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST STATES; AND 3) BASES ITS RELATIONS WITH STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND COOPERATION.

Therefore, when applying for registration of the trade union "Solidarity," we seek to ensure in the political sphere that, as an independent and self-governing trade union that observes the norms and principles of the Constitution, we find a suitable place within our legal order and social life as soon as possible and become a permanent and recognized component part of our Polish reality, serving peace and social order as well as the democratic evolution of social relations in our country. WE REGARD ALL THAT AS A BASIC CONDITION FOR A BETTER TOMORROW OF EVERY POLE, EVERY POLISH FAMILY AND OUR ENTIRE HOMELAND. AS TRADE UNIONISTS WE WANT TO SERVE THAT GOAL IN AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING MANNER. In order to achieve that it is necessary for both sides to honestly and loyally observe the obligations of the agreements in question. The state should make further efforts to implement those economic, social and political obligations that the world of labor put forward. Our trade union should preserve its character as a trade union organization that acts in keeping with the Constitution--a character declared in those agreements and observed in daily practice.

In the course of time, as our trade union grows and as the unity and solidarity of our constitutional activities in the individual, regional organizations of the NSZZ "Solidarity" consolidate countrywide, we continue to notice also the positive attitudes shown toward our trade union by the new authorities at various levels, as well as the recession of the recent surge of hostility, victimization and hindrances practiced against us by the bureaucratic elements of the power apparatus.

We realize that the social contracts signed by the Poles, including the passage of the agreements that concern the independent, self-governing trade unions, are a compromise and that not everyone likes them.

The people from the power apparatus who are still against the line of agreement had in fact to concede that the strike movement freed itself from antisocialist influence. On the other hand, that movement used the help of the critical communities whose representatives had joined the ranks of experts and advisors, who also share credit for making the agreement possible. We must bear this in mind. Those people [not further specified] will make generally fruitful efforts--we hope with decreasing effectiveness--to push us to the sidelines and to curb our activities in factories. Other people (mostly people from outside our ranks) will try to include in our trade union work the elements of political radicalism, to create artificial obstacles between the regional members of "Solidarity" or simply to force us to the positions of so-called "democratic" opposition.

Speaking of the antisocialist forces, we do not point our finger at anyone. BUT IT WOULD BE DEMAGOGY TO DENY THAT ANTISOCIALIST FORCES EXIST. Of course, if the motive for opposition is the conviction that opposition involves personal dangers, then a public statement about this is outside political activity. But the thesis that there are no antisocialist forces sounds improbable. Every system has its opponents and socialism certainly has them in this phase of the crisis and in view of the newly and fully demonstrated errors. But we must make some differentiations. THE CRITICAL COMMUNITIES WE HAVE JUST MENTIONED ARE NOT ANTISOCIALIST FORCES. Their position is precisely the opposite of the position they are accused of: They are convinced that they represent a current of development in socialism and a current of ethical mutiny against manifestations of social injustice. That is why they do not have to explain that they are not antisocialist forces.

THOSE WHO EXPRESS SOCIAL DISCONTENT THAT HAS BEEN CAUSED BY LIFE, BY THE ERRORS THAT HAVE SO ACUTELY DEMOLISHED OUR SOCIETY'S HOPES AND BY THE FAILURE TO KEEP THE PROMISES OF IMPROVEMENT, ARE NOT ANTISOCIALIST FORCES. THE MOVEMENTS FOR RENEWAL THAT STEM FROM THE SOCIAL PROTEST, BUT THAT DO NOT USE THE OFFICIAL CHANNELS OF INTERVENTION AND AVOID THEM PRIMARILY BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN BLOCKED AND HAVE LOST ANY EFFECTIVENESS IN AUTHORITY-SOCIETY RELATIONS AND VICE VERSA, ARE NOT ANTISOCIALIST FORCES.

FINALLY, NOR ARE THOSE ANTISOCIALIST WHO SEEK REFORMS AND ORGANIZE PRESSURE, LOOKING FOR THE CAUSES OF EVIL IN THE DEFECTIVE MECHANISM OF POWER, WHICH THEY ANALYZE AND NEGATIVELY APPRAISE; WHO CRITICIZE CERTAIN DECREES; WHO PROCLAIM THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO OPEN THE CHANNELS OF INFORMATION SO THAT THEY CAN PUBLISH THEIR OWN VIEWS AND EXPERTISE, EVEN IF THEY ARE AT ODDS WITH THOSE OFFICIALLY PREFERRED; AND WHO FIGHT FOR GREATER OPENNESS, FOR THE ABOLITION OF ANONYMITY AND FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF MEASURABLE, PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY. [paragraph continues]

Without that, all kinds of alternative solutions will remain an item in the book of wishes and complaints, a book no one reads and certainly no one takes seriously.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE ANTISOCIALIST FORCES AND THEY SHOULD BE DEFINED, SO THAT WHEN ONE MENTIONS THEM ONE DOES NOT MAKE AN ENIGMATIC ACCUSATION THAT CAN BE ABUSED BY STIFLING OR EVADING CRITICISM. THE CRITERION THAT DEFINES THOSE FORCES IS THEIR CONVICTION THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE OR NOT WORTHWHILE TO CHANGE SOCIALISM BECAUSE IT IS A HOPELESS TASK. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IS TO REJECT IT AND, IN ITS PLACE, TO BEGIN ORGANIZING LIFE IN KEEPING WITH ANOTHER POLITICAL PRINCIPLE. We have in mind those who think and speak in that way and whom public opinion is aware of.

THERE ARE ANTISOCIALIST FORCES AND ORIENTATIONS. THEY CONSTITUTE ALL KINDS OF ENEMIES OF EVERY KIND OF SOCIALISM. THE WAYS OF THE WORKERS CLASS PART WITH SUCH PEOPLE BECAUSE THEY LEAD IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.

FINALLY, ALL THOSE ARE ANTISOCIALIST TO WHOM THE RAISON D'ETAT DOES NOT MEAN THE SUPREMACY OF DOMESTIC PEACE AS THE SUPREME PRINCIPLE OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST. THE WAYS OF ALL THE POLES PART WITH SUCH PEOPLE.

It is no accident that the road leading to those positions was the disappointment of those who, at some uncritical stage, took faith in socialism and are now hunting down themselves--their own images of so many years ago. We are saying that not to point out to anyone his own past or to substitute psychological observations for arguments. We do not judge anyone and we do not want to attack anyone's views in a facile manner.

He who thinks of Poland and not merely of himself deserves a dialogue. IT IS WITH THE ENEMIES THAT WE FIGHT AND DO NOT TALK.

However, there is time for peace, and the revolutions that shape the political image of our reality are also peaceful revolutions, which means that the word is the ammunition and the thought is the weapon. Of course, that applies to the antisocialist forces in the sphere of ideology and politics exclusively. On the other hand those who have placed their own wrongs, defeats and hatreds above Poland's interests and therefore belong to the group of those who think only of themselves (although not in terms of advantage or career, but revenge and retribution), do not deserve a dialogue either.

But there are more dangerous people--the opportunists in whom the idea of socialism has been extinguished and who, having turned into bureaucrats, are hindering progress in the same way as those who, allegedly given to revolutionizing socialism, want to turn progress into a bomb. We try to defuse it but they say that we are afraid of renewal and do not understand it because we have become ossified through dogmatism and sectarianism. That is dishonest, creates tension and makes it necessary to fight on two fronts. At the same time, that indicates that manipulation and not merely to replace the manipulators. This state of affairs will not be overcome if one merely explains and justifies oneself. This is a defensive method, one condemned to failure. One should present one's own platform, which has one positive program and not two negative ones.

That is because in the final reckoning, such a positive program will have a single initial aim: stabilization of development. But two negative programs will supplement each other on their common platform of prolonging destabilization which will amount to the principle "the worse the situation the better it is." In that connection we should bear in mind that for some people such a state of affairs will constitute a concept for prolonging destabilization with a view to turning back the course of events and for some people it will mean that destabilization should be turned into a defeat of socialism.

That is precisely the true image of the antisocialist forces in this period of political life in Poland. The attitude toward the line of the agreement in question is the basic criterion. He who is committed to implementing both its parts represents the workers class and all the people. As for ourselves, we are most resolutely against an orientation that is not identical with the line of the agreement.

This is because we regard the line of agreement as a transition to a higher form of cooperation between the authorities and citizens, by way of creating a new quality of government and of society's participation in it. That is why it is so important that things happen rapidly, but it is equally important that we have enough time to make these things happen because a great thing is taking place and impatience is a bad counselor.

As a mass trade union organization, which represents and defends workers' interests and which helps (as every genuine organization) to develop our socioeconomic and cultural reality, we think that adopting an open posture vis-a-vis various inspirations and motivations connected with one's views of the world is the most proper thing for us to do. That is also consistent with our Polish pluralistic [pluralistyczna] reality and our traditional tolerance, which is part and parcel of such plurality. That is why we do not call ourselves a "lay" trade union organization because in our reality and against the background of recent experience this would be tantamount to regarding our union as "anti-church" and "anti-religious."

If we limited ourselves to such epithets, denoting our view of the world, we would exclude from Solidarity membership all those people who would regard the "lay" character of our trade union organization as at odds with religious beliefs. Also, a "religious" character of our organization would be at odds with the nonreligious world views of the people who are members of our organization.

Our trade union is open to all people who want to be active in Solidarity in the name of the workers' welfare and for our fatherland's happiness, and who profess their own religious or atheistic views. As you can see, openness to various views of the world and our tolerance do not at all mean that the people active in Solidarity as trade unionists have to give up their views. On the contrary, we think that--for the sake of our common good--our union should be a meeting place of believers and nonbelievers, and of party members and nonparty people. We think that all of them should act in keeping with our statutes, following their own convictions and adopted values. This will stimulate the spirit of loyal cooperation and openness to the values represented by various people who are partners. We would not like to be an organization that is a meeting point for people who have to reject the valuable and deeper motives of their commitment to our common good. We, and our entire country, need nothing as much as loyal cooperation and respect for other people's convictions and attitudes. That is why Solidarity pursues its activity within the framework of our constitution's principles. It pursues its activity in an independent and self-governing way, remaining a mass trade union organization that is open to any view of the world. Solidarity so registered and resiliently pursuing its activity in keeping with the present times denotes success, prosperity and future order for the entire country.

[Signed] The Interfactory Workers Committee-the Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity Jastrzebie Zdroj.

ARMY DAILY ON 'ANTISOCIALIST FORCES' ACTIVITIES

AU151914 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Col Prof Dr Jerzy Muszynski: "Class Struggle Continues--Who is Who?"]

[Excerpts] The antisocialist groups in Poland are not a significant political force but this does not at all mean that we can ignore them or make light of them. In the complicated socioeconomic and political situation of the country, and in view of the aggravated tension in the international arena, it is necessary to see, identify and combat every opponent of socialism who conducts militant political activity. Such is the logic of the class struggle which makes it imperative not to make light of anything or anyone.

Not even the fact that the Polish antisocialist groups lack an ideopolitical unity and that they are racked by differences and rivalry can relieve us of the duty to maintain the necessary vigilance and a principled posture when evaluating their activities. That duty is all the more necessary since those groups, for their arguments, use the terms taken from Marxist literature and socialist ideology.

In Poland at present there are many antisocialist groups, larger and smaller, which regard themselves as "opposition" vis-a-vis the PZPR and the people's government, and as "spokesmen" for the working people's interests and for the Polish raison d'etat.

Here is a list of some of these groups:

1. The Social Self-Defense Committee KOR (KSS-KOR), which was set up in 1976;

2. The Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (ROPCIO), which was set up in March 1977 by a group of former members of "Ruch" [movement];

3. The student self-defense committees of Solidarity (SKS), which were set up in a number of academic centers of the country in 1977 and 1978;

4. The peasant self-defense committees (KSCH), which are active, among other places, in Radom, Lublin and Rzeszow territories and which were set up in 1978-79;

5. The Young Poland Movement (RMP), which was organized in Gdansk in July 1979 by the functionaries of the Gdansk student committee of Solidarity;

6. The Independent Poland Confederation (KPN), which was set up by L. Moczulski in September 1979;

7. The Academic Courses Society--Flying Universities (TKN-LU), which were set up in 1978 by the KOR functionaries in order to conduct lecturing and propaganda activities in various social communities, especially among young people sympathizing with antisocialist groups.

In addition, there were committees of free trade unions (KWZZ) in Katowice and Gdansk, which were set up in 1978 by the KOR activists and some of which went over to the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

The identification of the ideopolitical principles of the aforementioned groups is not easy for many reasons. First, aside from the common cause--anticommunism in theory and practice--that no doubt links them in their struggle against socialism, they are not united through doctrinal similarities. On the contrary, almost every one of those groups professes its own political aspirations and aims and, consequently, its own ideological motivations. Second, their doctrinal principles are shallow, imprecise and eclectic, and therefore lack the features of a political program. Third, since those principles are completely divorced from the economic-social and political reality of the country and the world, they constitute a typical image of "utopia and desperation" vis-a-vis the objective laws of social development. Fourth, and finally, that identificatin is difficult because of the unceasing rivalry and disputes among the individual groups, especially between the KOR, on the one hand, and the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and the Independent Poland Confederation and their adherents, on the other hand.

However, the necessarily simplified evaluations of the ideopolitical principles of the antisocialist groups in Poland make possible the following identifications:

--The revisionist and reformist current represented by the KOR, partly by the student committees of Solidarity and by the old committees of free trade unions;

--The agrarian current, which harks back to the ideopolitical heritage of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and which is represented by the peasant self-defense committees;

--The neoliberal current, which is represented by the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and which seeks to introduce into Poland the free play of political forces and to organize a free market;

--The rightist-nationalistic current, which is represented by the Independent Poland Confederation and the Young Poland Movement, and which demands that socialism be liquidated and capitalism restored.

It goes without saying that the above classification is synthetic in character and sidesteps all kinds of motivational subtleties.

The distinctive feature of the antisocialist groups' ideopolitical principles is their destructive meaning vis-a-vis our system and their lack of constructive alternative programs, if we ignore some generalities and declarations. In other words, whatever positions those groups take, they question our reality without presenting a rational alternative model. That attests to the weakness of the theory of the Polish opponents of socialism. They realize that and are trying to make good that deficiency by conducting a sweeping propaganda campaign in Poland and abroad with the help of various periodical publications (GLOS, OPINION, ROBOTNIK, DROGA, ZAPIS, ASPEKT, GOSPODARZ, BRATNIAK, PULS and others) and books.

During the coastal strikes, representatives of the antisocialist groups were active along three lines:

1. Direct participation in the Gdansk Interfactory Strike Committee in order to convince the striking workers that economic-social demands and proposals are not the most important thing and that political demands should be put at the top of the list of demands;

2. Assistance and advice (consultations and expertise) for the interfactory strike committees;

3. Making the strikes known internationally in order to obtain the West's support for the strikers; that is why information was given to newsmen from the Western mass media and interviews were granted to some periodicals.

The antisocialist dissidents, while calling for continuation of the strikes and for greater political demands, did not care about the country's situation as developing in connection with work stoppages and with the disorganization of life in many urban centers. That was because those dissidents wanted to demonstrate their political presence and militancy, on the one hand, and to obtain a platform for legal activities (within the framework of the free trade unions), on the other hand.

The agreements between the Interfactory Strike Committee and the government commission were regarded by the dissidents [dysydenci] as a convenient jumping-off point for implementing their own aims. Those agreements gave them reason to intensify activity, to reappraise its lines, forms and methods, and to mobilize greater efforts in order to realize their own antisocialist aspirations and aims.

The July and August events in the coastal and other regions also helped invigorate various antisocialist centers abroad and supplied reasons to intensify attacks against the people's power and the PZPR's supremacy in our society, and our international policy. The activity of those centers followed, in the main, these three lines:

--To stress the defective nature of the socialist system of the national economy and this system's inability to develop dynamically;

--To lay bare the reasons for the sociopolitical crisis and the domestic and international ideological and political conditions for it;

--To indicate the possible international implications of the Polish events, especially in connection with our country's role in the political life of Europe and the world.

The tenor of those evaluations was on the whole unfavorable to Poland and its raison d'etat, although there was no lack of publications that were in due measure objective and realistic.

The anticommunist centers exploited the crisis events as an important argument against the socialist prospects of the country's development and against our political, economic and defense alliances.

Aside from extensive press publications, the subversive radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe, devoted much attention to Polish affairs. On 25 August 1980 Radio Free Europe organized a discussion on the "strikes in Poland," which was chaired by head of the Polish section Zygmunt Michalowski and which was supported by familiar anticommunists such as L. Gawlikowski, A. Krzeczunowicz, K. Milotworska, T. Olsztynski, M. Surzycki and L. Wierczynski. That discussion was continued on 30 August with some other persons, and the party's and state's responsibility for the country's situation was stressed.

On 31 August the BBC beamed an interview with L. Kolakowski on the Polish events and on 2 September Radio Free Europe beamed to our country a program entitled "Striking Workers Demolish Communist Myths."

Some West German information media assumed a particularly hostile tenor vis-a-vis People's Poland. They stressed the supposed weakness of Poland's constitutional foundations and claimed that the results of the FRG-Polish agreements were negative for the FRG. The media connected with the Christian Social Union's J. F. Strauss even demanded that Poland be given material assistance and that Silesia and Pomerania should be offered as security.

The West German DIE ZEIT painted Poland in particularly black colors. It wrote about a "crisis of communism in Poland," about a "workers uprising in Poland," about "dissidents in the party and state apparatus," and about "placing the armed forces and the militia in a state of readiness." Radio Free Europe especially excelled in "oozing" black propaganda so that in the end the U.S. State Department became concerned and deemed it necessary to draw attention to the inciting tenor and nature of the programs beamed by that radio to Poland.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON EFFORTS TO IMPROVE MILITARY WORK

AU171551 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Nov 80 p 2

[Article signed "(N)": "Concern to Consistently Improve Organization of Work and Management"]

[Text] Problems connected with work organization and the system of command and management in the armed forces have for many years been in the focus of special attention by the leadership of the National Defense Ministry, central institutions and of commands and staffs at all levels.

In the past 5-year period alone, efforts to improve the organization of work and management were characterized by the comprehensive regulation of the basic spheres of the peacetime activities of institutions and commands. This found its expression in consistent efforts to improve--in keeping with an appropriate action program--the organization, style and methods of work and effectiveness of command and management bodies performance. As a result of those activities, in the past few years many spheres of official duties have been normalized and basic legal regulations have been modified. Among other things, regulations have been worked out, modified and introduced in such spheres as principles of defense prognostications; planning; training; accountability; various regulation forms; control, accounting and publishing work; scientific military information; and staff office work.

Those measures sought to improve the organization of work, mainly by standardizing and simplifying it in order to ensure--while curbing bureaucratic excesses--better conditions for effective performance, especially in those basic units and echelons that are directly involved in training and educating soldiers.

Despite considerable and tangible improvements in that regard, not all weaknesses have been completely overcome. We are still faced with manifestations that hinder the cadres in fulfilling their basic task of training and educational activities. One reason for those manifestations seems to be the failure to fully observe the aforementioned regulations and the relevant decisions and instructions issued in the past. Very often such a state of affairs results simply from ignorance of those instructions issued in the past. Very often such a state of affairs results simply from ignorance of those instructions. It is also probable that some issues need to be settled by unequivocal decisions.

Assuming that all the echelons of command and management will continue to pay special attention to the problems of improving the organization of work and management, it is necessary to be principled and comprehensive in revealing the sources responsible for the present defects and in properly outlining measures to be taken in that regard in 1981-85.

This will be promoted by the present research done by special teams in selected units of all military districts and armed services. That research responds to proposals submitted recently by cadre at briefings, sessions and community meetings.

The crux of the research, which will be completed this month, is to collect materials and views showing the extent to which cadres are committed to doing work not directly connected with training and education. That is why it covers above all such spheres of activity as planning; accountability; records; participation in the work of social and collective bodies, whose usefulness and effectiveness should be assessed; and participation in controlling and accounting the implementation of tasks, especially with regard to the number and range of control checks and stocktaking and to the clarity of the division of relevant competence.

That research is being done on the strength of analyses of the documents produced in units and subunits; interviews with officers, warrant officers and noncommissioned officers; and consultations with commanders of subunits, units and tactical formations and, if necessary, with the commands of military districts and armed services. The central institutions concerned will also air their views on that research.

During that research work views will be sounded with regard to making use of workfree Saturdays in the armed forces, especially in the units on active service. Such Saturdays are expected to be introduced in 1981.

The materials and opinions gathered during the research in question will be the main stuff for analyses and accurate classification and will be then used for immediate measures and for measures in the coming 5-year period aimed at creating for cadres the best possible conditions to implement training and educational tasks. That is why the essential feature of that research is its comprehensive and objective character, which should make it possible to produce a comprehensive and truthful image of reality. The fact that the research teams have been joined by representatives of the units under research who have intimate knowledge of life and activities in such units, imparts the necessary quality of genuineness to that research. The planned results of the research can be achieved if its aim and nature are understood and if the necessary atmosphere and mutual trust on the part of cadres under research and the research teams are created.

The research teams are receiving considerable assistance from the basic party organization committees, youth organization boards, regular noncommissioned officers' councils, social control teams and from other social bodies. That assistance is accomplished by supplying honest appraisals, credible opinions and meaningful consultations.

Successful implementation of those tasks is in the interest of all cadres and the command and management bodies at all levels, especially the lower organizational echelons that bear the main weight of responsibility for the correct training and education of soldiers.

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES STUDENTS ON 'DEMOCRACY'

AU171608 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[PAP report on speech by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to a meeting with outstanding students on 14 Nov in Warsaw]

[Text] Discussing the meaning of the saying "first among equals," which is the title of the students' competition, H. Jablonski spoke of the differences among people, which are natural in every society and which concern interests, talents, skills and aspirations. Those differences are necessary if society is to develop correctly and are a condition for society's unity. However, if that unity is to really exist, there must be agreement among citizens with regard to what is the common good. [paragraph continues]

Of course, the recognition of the primacy of social interests is not at odds with the plurality of individual interests. It is, in fact, a condition for the fuller development of man's personality.

H. Jablonski stressed the important function of merging that which is individual with that which is common in society for the deepening of democracy. All our democracy is the democracy of participation. In the academic community that means participation in all its most important affairs. That is because something most important is involved: efforts to foster one's conviction that one can influence that which takes place in higher schools, production enterprises, various communities and countrywide.

Within the context of that, H. Jablonski discussed issues connected with the autonomy of higher schools, as brought up by the students during the meeting. We must see, he said, that this autonomy receives a new quality and that it guarantees that all the members of the academic community use every opportunity to participate in academic life. This must be accompanied by the condition that there must be one's exacting and wise responsibility for the shape of one's higher school and its democratic character.

H. Jablonski congratulated the students on their excellent achievements in study and social work and wished them further success.

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE PROPOSES FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC REFORMS

LD171846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] A 16-page supplement to the latest issue of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE does not look like much, but it is one of the most exciting pieces to read. It contains proposals for fundamental solutions and economic reforms in Poland and has been prepared by the Polish Economic Society. Because ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, just like other weeklis, is a product in short supply, we would like to acquaint our listeners with some excerpts from this document.

First, what is ahead of us in the near future and how we can avoid it. The prospects of the economic situation of our country, the report reads, are extremely bad. In 1980 we must expect a clear fall in national income. It is also difficult to expect any significant increases in the national income in 1981. Due to large repayments of credits and high interest payments this year, we must not assume that the apportionable income will increase this year. A similar prospect is seen for 1982. Consequently, we must expect a deterioration of the economic situation in our country in the near future and in 1981, possibly also in 1982. Such are the visible trends which prevail at the moment. Some alleviation of the effects of these trends is possible but results will not appear quickly.

What can be done? The revision and scaling down of the investment program is a task for immediate implementation. This is a need which is well understood but despite this it is implemented slowly. Every day of continued expenditure on projects which will have to be stopped anyway means a waste of millions of zlotys.

The government understands and is implementing the policy of limiting various kinds of budget expenditures. However, there are various pressure groups which rose on the wave of the social and economic turbulence, are bringing to the surface instances of neglect and are demanding increases in expenditures for various purposes: culture, health, education, and so on. These demands are presented in parliament, at various congresses, meetings, trade union meetings, and so on.

Experience shows that the government is faced with enormous difficulties if, due to its institutional form [words indistinct] action is essential in redistributing incomes, which in the present situation must mean reducing the highest incomes. Such action should be carried out on the basis of arguments of community interests and national necessity not condemnation of higher earnings if they are gained in accordance with established principles.

The following possibilities exist: introducing a ceiling for top incomes, introducing verification of the so-called levelling tax [podatek wyrownawczy], so that it becomes universal and has no exceptions, a further cut in any earnings outside the main employment.

It is also necessary, the economists write, to defer consumption; that is, to encourage savings by a major increase in interest rates on long-term savings and the introduction of the system of [word indistinct] and the possibility of investing one's money in state and cooperative enterprises.

Furthermore, it is possible to work out and rapidly introduce institutional changes which are not determined by economic factors. We have already started moving along this road and we must continue on it. Here in particular one must deal with a series of legal regulations. Apart from matters which already have been resolved, or started, such as the Supreme Control Chamber, trade union law, the law on enterprises and so on, it is particularly important to achieve a new balance of relations between various organs of power, and in particular between the Sejm and the government. [passage indistinct]

In my opinion, it is justifiable for the authorities to ask what people want through referenda. The matter of further extortion [symuszanie] of wage increases which lead to inflation and make it impossible to implement economic reforms could be the subject of a referendum. The voice of the community on this issue will provide the foundations for the consistent action of the state.

SESSIONS OF ECONOMIC REFORM TEAMS REPORTED

LD172202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Problem-solving teams of the Commission for Economic Reform are continuing their deliberations. The teams for planning, for economic-financial systems, for the organization, circulation and management of materials, and for organizational structure of the economy held sessions today.

The team for planning was acquainted with changes which will be introduced 1 January next year. The main aim of those changes is to secure for workforces greater independence and responsibility for results achieved. The number and scope of directives is to be considerably limited. Superior institutions will impose on enterprises only tasks of key importance which only define the output of goods financed centrally and the value of export and market supplies as related to goods subject to price control. The scale of certain investments will also be determined from above. The planned changes in the management system of nationalized enterprises also envisage that the principles of wages fund management will be considerably simplified. Employment limits will also be suspended. A detailed account of changes in this sector as well as the timetable for work on next year's plan will be laid down in a Council of Ministers resolution.

The team for economic-financial systems has been considering system mechanisms and solutions put forward in a working document prepared by the commission and entitled "Initial Provisions of Economic Reform." The striving for increased independence of economic organizations declared in reform provisions must be buttressed with the elaboration of effective mechanisms for administering economic processes. The correct selection of such management levers as prices, foreign currency conversion rates of interest, taxes, supplements and norms for the creation and division of funds will be of fundamental importance here.

The team for organizational structure of the economy has been considering, among other things, the creation of a social mechanism which would counteract bureaucratic distortions in the organization and performance of the management apparatus. The initial provisions of economic reform call for simplified decision-making procedures and also for the introduction, within the limitations of what is possible, of the principle of credit for initiative and personal responsibility for decisions taken.

Both in its precepts and its discussion the team expressed its support for medium-size and small organizational forms in mutual competition for market positions. While recognizing the advisability of grouping enterprises in large organizations in such production branches as the power or mining industries, support was given to the promotion, in other industries, of the principle of forming voluntary associations of enterprises.

The team for the organization, circulation and management of materials, which also held a session today, discussed among other things emergency measures aimed at improving the situation in the supply and distribution of fuels and power, and also of raw and other materials. Next year we must continue to expect shortages in industrial supplies. This is why next year's plan must make provisions for the true size of fuels and raw materials supplies; these should accord with true needs and take into account the amount of available reserves. The team stresses that much attention should be paid next year to the management of spare parts and called for standardizing the organizational structure of supplies of materials.

UN ECONOMIC REPORT ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CITED

LD180016 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Geneva, 17 Nov (PAP)--The UN Economic Commission for Europe has published a report on the current economic situation in the world, including the appraisal of the effects of recent strikes and work stoppages on Poland's economy. The report stressed that the wage rise demands, often exceeding the possibilities for their implementation, continue to aggravate Poland's economic difficulties and at the same time tend to tax social discipline.

The report points to a considerable drop in utilizing Poland's industrial potential and to strikingly low labour productivity that dropped last August by 9 percent against the last year's level. Total industrial production decreased by 12 percent and the value of new investment projects dropped by 1.5 thousand million zlotys that in turn had a very negative effect on Polish foreign trade.

According to the report, Poland's indebtedness to capitalist countries exceeded 20,000 million dollars and continues to show a growing tendency. Poland's debts might increase by 8,000 million dollars by the end of this year, said the report.

A balance of payments deficit of at least 2,000 million dollars is predicted in the report as a result of the latest economic disturbances. Also, 1981 will not see a surplus in Polish balance of payments that in turn will cause a further growth in foreign borrowing.

One can hope, said the report, that the introduction of changes [illegible] Polish economic policy and an increase in industrial labour productivity will make it possible to limit the scale of the country's indebtedness.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS EXAMINES ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

LD172230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] At a session today the Council of Ministers studied the draft decision on changes in the management system of socialized enterprises. The changes involve increasing the rights of enterprises and streamlining the system of management, as well as creating conditions conducive to widening the work forces' responsibility for production and husbandry results.

The adopted changes in the system of planning and management, which constitute the first stage of economic reform, provide a basis for more realistic production plans, for independent fixing of targets, for their endorsement by workers' self-government and for a greater influence of the efficiency of husbandry on pay and the improvement of workers' social welfare.

The precepts introduced by the decision will remain in force until the end of next year, with an option for a 1-year extension until a general economic reform is introduced.

The council then examined the investment possibilities of the country next year. The discussion dealt with the suspension of the implementation of a few dozen investments on which not much progress has been made and which would take along time to implement. The estimated value of these investments, per unit, [as heard] is over Z 1 million. The Council of Ministers also discussed today the proposal to introduce rationing for meat, meat products and fats. The project will be submitted for social consultation. The Ministry of Trade has been instructed to prepare for the introduction of the new system for the sale of meat and fats on 1 January 1981.

SHORTCOMINGS OF MIXED FOREIGN TRADE COMPANIES DISCUSSED

LD171630 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP)--Over a third of the value of Polish exports to capitalist markets (last year 36.5 per cent) goes abroad through mixed companies. There are 127 of them (as against 14 in 1965) and Polish capital dominates in most of them. Partners to them are either specialized international company "DAL" or other foreign trade enterprises.

Their activities are all the more important for the Polish foreign trade as there are markets, e.g., Canada, on which all Polish exports are handled by mixed companies. The activities of the companies were recently reviewed by the Polish Sejm (parliament) Foreign Trade Committee.

The committee as well as representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Shipping and the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) were of the opinion that the activities of mixed companies as this form of activities of a socialist exporter on the capitalist market has passed the test of life. But they also pointed to many shortcoming and problems in the field.

One of the major shortcomings is indiscriminate application of certain principles and habits of the Polish economy on the foreign ground. For example, as a rule the companies have small capital fund which forces them to obtain costly credits. There were also cases of setting up weak companies vulnerable to market fluctuations, on markets where they have little chance of success, with uncertain or even insolvent foreign partners.

Among other blameworthy practices pointed to by Sejm deputies is the engagement in imports at the expense of what is the companies' basic duty that is Polish exports promotion. Some Polish foreign trade enterprises also abused the existence of companies for the sake of implementing export tasks. They supplied their companies abroad with shoddy products only to show on paper that the goods were exported.

REPORT ON DIFFICULTIES OF WORK IN PORTS

LD171146 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Excerpts] The situation in the country's economy is reflected in the work of the ports. The structure of goods, both in export and import, is changing. In export much smaller quantities of coal and cement are being dispatched. Three foreign ships are at present waiting for cement and we must pay fines in foreign currency for keeping them beyond the permitted time limit.

Contracts have been concluded. Instead of profits there are losses. The shortage of coal, especially in the northern port, prevents the use of the workforces in the four-brigade system. The port management directs a part of workers to other jobs, for example, in the loading of citrus fruits. But this is only an improvised way of dealing with the situation.

Generally, thanks to other actions, including the acquisition of transit goods from Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary, the longshoremen in the ports of Gdansk and Gdynia are fully employed and there is even a shortage of workers on some shifts. But there are other difficulties. For instance, substantial quantities of iron in various forms pass by the ports. There is not enough equipment for its unloading by self-propelled cranes or log platforms. Cranes, it is true, are in the ports but there is a shortage of spare parts.

The next problem is work on Sundays. Thus the workers of the forwarding agent, the (Hardwick) firm, have decided not to work on Sundays and on holidays, in view of the failure to compensate them with wages for this work. Negotiations are taking pace and the ports have no orders for Sundays. An optimistic factor is good cooperation of the ports with the railroadmen. The railroads fulfill the orders for the railcars in full. There are some difficulties with covered railcars.

INVESTIGATION OF LUBLIN GROUP AGAINST STATE ALLIANCES BEGUN

LD172136 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP)--The district presecutor's office in Lublin has announced that an investigation has started against a group of people who, on November 11, took advantage of a gathering taking place in connection with a solemn anniversary to come out in public against Poland's international alliances and her system and to insult state organs and political organizations.

KANIA PRAISES NEW WARSAW COMMITTEE FIRST SECRETARY

LD180835 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] A plenary session of the Warsaw party committee was held yesterday, whose deliberations were attended by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

In the profound discussion, full of concern for party and national matters, a review was made of the ideological and cadre situation in the party's banks. With all force, the plenum stressed the need for a complete and rapid consolidation of the party on the basis of tried and tested ideological and ethical norms, founded on moral and political statutory assumptions.

The Warsaw committee stressed that this consolidation and closeness of ranks are all the more essential since the party, the nation's leading force, has taken on itself the main burden of working out a program plan indicating the way out of the crisis, which concerns not only the sphere of economic life but also civic awareness. At the same time, those taking part in the meeting stated that an uncompromising defense was essential of party members against lying accusations, slanders and defamations.

The key to restoring the very difficult situation in the country to health, it was said, is the party, its ideological unity, discipline, reconstruction and constant strengthening of the links with society.

Acceding to the request of Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee, Alojzy Karkoszka, the plenum, after a long discussion, accepted his resignation from the post of first secretary of the Warsaw committee. On behalf of the Politburo and the executive of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, Stanislaw Kania recommended for the post of first secretary of the Warsaw committee Stanislaw Kociolek.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stressed that Kociolek is someone who had for years been connected with Warsaw and respected among broad activist circles for his communist attitude, for his character and ideological zealousness.

He was recognized as such among the student aktiv of Warsaw University when he was a student in the philosophy department. He was such as secretary of the university committee of the party, and then first secretary of the district committee of Warsaw City Center; of the Warsaw party Committee; of the voivodship committee in Gdansk.

Referring to the December days of 1970, when Stanislaw Kociolek and other Politburo members of the PZPR Central Committee were in the coastal region, Stanislaw Kania recalled that he was one of the comrades who, from beginning to end, acted with deliberation. He persistently fought for a political solution to the conflict and, with all possible means, tried to oppose the tragic development of events. In the specific situation, he did not succeed in halting it. At the eighth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Kociolek submitted his resignation from the post of Politburo member. He then worked in the diplomatic service, and was president of the central board of labor cooperatives.

BARCIKOWSKI ATTENDS LODZ PLENUM; FIRST SECRETARY RESIGNS

LD172117 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Plenary meetings of party voivodship committees are being held today in Czestochowa, Nowy Sacz and Lodz. They discuss key trends in the activities of party organizations after the sixth plenum of the Central Committee.

During the Lodz Plenum, attended by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, those present underlined the urgent need to embark on actions designed to restore in full the leading role of the party and its prestige in the community.

The plenum accepted the resignation of Bolesalw Koperski from the post of first secretary of the Lodz party committee. Tadeusz Czechowicz, the present secretary of the Lodz committee, was elected to replace him.

LE MATIN ON GDANSK PARTY CALL FOR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PURGE

LD171507 Paris LE MATIN in French 13 Nov 80 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Dispute in Poland"]

[Text] Despite Monday's compromise between the public authorities and the Solidarity trade unions on the subject of the communist party's leading role, unrest continues in certain "base" sectors in Poland. There were patriotic demonstrations in several cities on Tuesday evening. In Gdansk, "cradle" of the summer strikes, it is the party cadres which are in dispute.

Between 15,000 and 20,000 Poles demonstrated in the streets of Warsaw on Tuesday evening, demanding greater freedom. Their banners demanded "freedom of speech" or affirmed that there "can be no just Europe without an independent Poland." But this huge demonstration--which passed off without incident, however--the Poles were commemorating their country's independence day, celebrated until World War II on 11 November, before being replaced by 22 July, the anniversary of the communist seizure of power.

Meanwhile, the Gdansk Polish United Workers (Communist) Party Committee asked for a purge of the Central Committee, which it no longer trusts to carry through Poland's renewal.

This "split" stance was outlined at Monday's committee plenum meeting in Gdansk, which was chaired by Committee First Secretary Tadeusz Fiszbach and whose proceedings the local press has reported. Jan Labecki, Central Committee member and foreman at the Lenin shipyards, stated: "We consider the present Central Committee to be incapable of undertaking the renewal or of extricating the country from its stagnation."

Henryk Lewandowski, a fitter in Gdynia's Paris commune yards, considered that "we must firmly call to account those responsible for the errors. There are many within the Central Committee who tolerated them. They must be removed." Several speakers, for their part, stressed that "the rank and file members no longer trust the leaders," and asked that the extraordinary party congress be convened as soon as possible.

Furthermore, the plenum demanded that democracy "be genuinely broadened within the party." In this context, Fiszbach demanded "the modification of the election system within the party." He also spoke in favor of a "profound decentralization" of the country's administration.

PZPR'S KRUK RESIGNS AS LUBLIN PARTY CHAIRMAN

LD171932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] In the course of today's session of the voivodship people's council in Lublin a change was made in the post of chairman. The present chairman, Wladyslaw Kruk, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the party voivodship committee has resigned. Stanislaw Zgrzywa, a well-known political and social activist, member of the PZPR and secretary of the voivodship National Unity Front committee, was elected the new chairman of the voivodship people's council in Lublin.

POPE INVITES SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL TO VISIT ROME

LD171608 Hamburg DPA in German 1503 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Mainz, 17 Nov (DPA)--The pope has invited the head of the advisory group of the new Polish trade union, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, to visit Rome for a talk. Mazowiecki was one of the Poles who met John Paul II in Mainz yesterday evening. The pope reached out through the crowd to shake hands with Mazowiecki, invited him to Rome and declared: "There are a lot of things that should be discussed." Since the strikes in the Gdansk shipyard Mazowiecki has always appeared together with trade union leader Lech Walesa and is head of the advisory group of the new trade union, Solidarity.

Mazonwiecki, who was given permission to leave the country for the first time since 1976, intends going to Rome in the pope's retinue after the tour.

NEW RAILROAD LINE COMPLETED, WILL TRANSPORT SOVIET GRAIN

LD181002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Olsytyn railroad men have finished extending the railroad line from Bartoszyce to the border crossing near Bagrationovsk in the Kaliningrad Oblast. The new line will serve to carry grain crops from the Soviet Union and thanks to taking [word indistinct] the railroad track used on the Soviet side from the border right up to Bartoszyce, it will be possible to transload grain straight from the wagons into the elevator in Bartoszyce.

The first train with 1,000 tons of wheat has already arrived there. In the next few days, the next consignments of Soviet grain are expected.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON CEAUSESCU'S STATE VISIT TO NORWAY

AU180804 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 80 p 2

["Communique" issued on Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Norway 13-15 November]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid a state visit to Norway between 13 and 15 November at the invitation of his Majesty King Olav V.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Odvar Nordli exchanged views on the development of Romanian-Norwegian relations and on certain topical international issues. The talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

The talks were attended by:

For Romania: Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government; Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state, and other officials.

For Norway: Knut Frydenlund, minister of foreign affairs; Reiulf Steen, minister of commerce and shipping, and other officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Odvar Nordli noted with satisfaction that bilateral relations between the two countries are developing favorably, and expressed the firm determination to continue to promote and strengthen Romanian-Norwegian cooperation in all fields of mutual interest. In this respect, the two sides stressed the importance of summit level contacts and agreed to continue to encourage official contacts and exchanges as well as contacts between representatives of economic and trade enterprises and firms, of social, cultural and scientific institutions, and of citizens of the respective countries.

The sides examined the stage of economic cooperation between the two countries and expressed their interest in increasing and diversifying trade exchanges and industrial cooperation between Romania and Norway. They noted that in the shipbuilding industry, the two countries had attained good results. The sides took note with satisfaction of the conclusion of the following agreements between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Kingdom of Norway: A long term trade agreement; a long term agreement on economic, industrial and technological cooperation; an agreement on international road transportation of individual persons and goods; and a convention on avoiding double taxation on income and property. The two sides agreed to assist and encourage cooperation ventures in the chemical and metallurgical industries. Conditions have thus been created for substantially increasing bilateral trade exchanges in the coming years.

The two sides agreed to stimulate joint research projects in industry, science, technology, exchanges of information and technical data and the transfer of technology in fields of mutual interest.

The sides also examined the development of Romanian-Norwegian cultural relations and expressed the desire to continue to expand cooperation in this field, in order to strengthen ties between the two peoples.

In the discussion on international issues, the two sides reiterated their support for the United Nations and the principles included in the UN Charter. They pointed out the need to strengthen the role of the United Nations in promoting peace, security and cooperation in the world.

The sides expressed their deep concern with the mounting tension characterizing the international situation of late. They spoke out against the use and threat of force in relations between all states and reiterated the fact that international differences should be resolved through peaceful means. In this respect, they stressed the particular importance of continuing the process of detente, on the basis of implementing the principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, each nation's right to independently shape its destiny and other principles of international law.

The sides paid particular attention to issues concerning security and cooperation in Europe. They stressed the importance of strictly observing all principles of the CSCE Final Act, and effectively implementing all its provisions. They noted with concern that the process of implementing the obligations assumed in Helsinki has not met the people's expectations and that a certain regression has even been recorded.

The two sides stressed the role incumbent upon the Madrid meeting in promoting full implementation of all provisions of the Final Act, and pointed out the need to attain good results at this meeting, on the basis of negotiations, as well as substantial progress in all fields of the Final Act, something which will undoubtedly exert a positive impact on the international situation in Europe and throughout the world. They took note of the proposals concerning the military aspects of security and stressed the particular importance of making further progress in this respect at the Madrid meeting. They reiterated their positions on the need to develop measures of trust, reduce military confrontation and promote disarmament in Europe.

The sides discussed various initiatives on convening a conference on measures of trust and disarmament in Europe, and stressed the importance of reaching agreement on convening such a conference. The two sides pointed out the basic need to continue the process begun by the Final Act and supported holding new meetings as part of the institutional follow-up to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The sides expressed concern with the intensification of the arms race and stressed the urgent need to adopt measures for significant disarmament, both in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons. They expressed the hope that SALT II will be ratified soon, and emphasized the importance of observing its provisions in the following period, until this treaty comes into effect. They also expressed the hope that various proposals recently made at the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of military forces and armaments and adjacent measures in central Europe will lead to concrete results.

Both sides expressed the common determinatin to contribute to establishing a new international economic order. They stressed that the imbalances in the world economy pose an increasing danger to international security. They expressed the hope that countries will have the political will to find solutions to problems left unsolved at these negotiations.

The sides also exchanged views on the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Southern Africa and other areas of conflict in the world, stressing the need to peacefully resolve these conflicts through negotiations, to the benefit of the respective peoples and in the interest of international peace.

The sides noted that the state visit to Norway by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, as well as the talks conducted and agreements signed during the visit, make an important contribution to developing relations between Romania and Norway and strengthening international understanding and cooperation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu invited His Majesty King Olav V and Prime Minister Odvar Nordli to pay official visits to Romania. The invitations were accepted with pleasure. The dates of the visits will be established though diplomatic channels.

USSR'S TALYZIN ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST 17 NOVEMBER

AU172037 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Nov (AGERPRES)--N. V. Talyzin, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, head of the Soviet delegation to the 12th session of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration, arrived in Bucharest on November 17.

At the airport the delegation were welcomed by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Alexandru Margaritescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES ON OFFICIAL VISIT

AU172044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Nov (AGERPRES)--Moustapha Niasse, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Senegal, arrived in Bucharest on November 17 for an official visit to Romania at the invitation of the Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

Upon arrival, the guest was welcomed by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, by other officials.

The same day, the two foreign ministers started the official talks.

During the talks satisfaction was expressed at the good Romanian-Senegalese relations of friendship and collaboration, at their ascending course. The conviction was expressed that premises existed for the intensification of the Romanian-Senegalese cooperation in domains of mutual interest.

SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH CSSR DISCUSSED

AU172045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Nov (AGERPRES)--Talks started in Bucharest on November 17 between Ion Ursu, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and Ladislav Supka, minister of technological and investment development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, now visiting Romania at the invitation of the National Council for Science and Technology.

During the talks examined were the stage and results of the Romanian-Czechoslovak technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation and fresh measures were set for further developing and deepening this cooperation for raising its efficiency.

Also examined were the directions and objectives of the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation over the ensuing period in relation to the finalization and signing of the programme of collaboration and cooperation in scientific research and technological development between the two countries over the 1981-1985 period.

PZPR'S WOJTASZEK ARRIVES WITH SEJM DELEGATION 17 NOV

LD171830 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland arrived in Belgrade tonight at the invitation of the Yugoslav Assembly to pay a return friendly visit to our country. The delegation is led by Emil Wojtaszek, Sejm deputy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

CSSR DEFENSE MINISTER DZUR ARRIVES ON VISIT 17 NOV

LD171528 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense of the CSSR, arrived today for an official and friendly visit to our country and its armed forces at the invitation of Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense. The high-ranking guest and members of the delegation from the friendly CSSR were welcomed at Batajnica Airport by Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense. Also present were Col Gen Dane Petkovski, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Col Gen Janko Susnjar; Lt Col Gen Stevan Roglic, commander of the air force and air defense; Maj Gen Sveta Popovic; Vice Adm Zvonimir Kostic and other officers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

CSSR Ambassador Oldrich Pavolvsky, together with embassy staff and Maj Gen (J. Gumulka), the military attache, were also present.

During the day General Ljubicic had talks with General Dzur at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on further promotion of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of the two socialist countries. The talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

During their stay in our country General Dzur and the members of the delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army will visit some of our armed forces' units and institutions.

Talks With Ljubicic

LD171706 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (CTK)--Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Defence Ministers Generals Martin Dzur and Nikola Ljubicic, discussed all aspects of army cooperation in today's official talks here.

A delegation of Czechoslovak People's Army headed by General Dzur arrived here today for a four-day official visit.

VRHOVEC ASSESSES VALUE OF OSIMO AGREEMENTS WITH ITALY

AU162026 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 80 p 8

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 10 Nov (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Emilio Colombo, Italian minister of foreign affairs, have appraised the Osimo agreements as the greatest contribution to developing relations between Yugoslavia and Italy and, at the same time, a contribution to and an example for relations in Europe within the framework of implementing the Helsinki documents on European security and cooperation.

Both ministers stated that in an interview granted to the Yugoslav television network on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Osimo agreements.

Vrhovec and Colombo called attention to a number of results achieved in the development of relations between Yugoslavia and Italy thanks precisely to the Osimo agreements and said that the results represent the soundest foundation for future Yugoslav-Italian cooperation.

Speaking about the significance of the Osimo agreements, Federal Secretary Vrhovec said:

"I think that these agreements are one of the more important bilateral documents that have been signed in Europe since the war. Regarding the Osimo agreements, I can say that during my recent official and friendly visit to Italy my host, Minister Colombo, and I concluded that, thanks to the Osimo agreements, whenever we meet, we really do not talk about disputes--there are none--but instead only discuss further strengthening and expanding our cooperation. Therefore I would say that the Osimo agreements are not important just because they solved a very serious dispute and conflict that had existed between the two countries, but also because they created a new spirit and provided a new orientation for our two countries."

Vrhovec also said that the Osimo agreements orient the two countries to strengthening their comprehensive economic cooperation not only in the form of trade, but also in all other forms of development of our two economies. In this connection he especially pointed out the small border trade which, in addition to its economic value, also has another value in that "it links the people together, coordinates their interests and creates a new concept of future Europe, a concept as we imagine it and to which we contribute by our policy, that is, a concept within which the territorial integrity of each individual country is strictly respected and within which borders cease to represent a barrier."

The Role of Nationalities

Referring to implementation of the part of the Osimo agreements concerning the position of nationalities, Vrhovec particularly called attention to the following:

"As far as the position of nationalities in various countries is concerned, you know that currently it is one of the most important issues both in Europe and in the world in general. There are many countries that are afraid to recognize the existence of nationalities. They follow a kind of a hegemonistic policy and oppress the nationalities. That is naturally a bad orientation.

"Yugoslavia and Italy provide an entirely different example and offer a new quality in this respect. That means that both countries have understood that it is only under the most favorable conditions for their cultural development, their national identity in general and for their economic development that these nationalities create and build bridges for even quicker and stronger ties."

Vrhovec said that the Osimo agreements are "an extraordinarily good example of implementation of the Helsinki documents."

Concluding his statement, Vrhovec said among other things: "Italy is interested in Yugoslavia's successful development and its existence as a stable, strong and independent country. In the same way Yugoslavia is interested in Italy's development as a democratic country and in ensuring that Italy, as our neighbor, will be a factor of stability in this part of the world. In addition to this, both our countries are Mediterranean countries and the Mediterranean is a very sensitive area. Unfortunately there are many potential forces of conflict both on its periphery and on its waters. For that reason we want the Mediterranean to be a nucleus of peace. We are a coastal country and that means that we are very interested in all that. We can jointly contribute a great deal for this purpose. Furthermore the Mediterranean is most closely tied to security in Europe and consequently that is yet another good element of our cooperation that has also been enhanced by the Osimo agreements."

DRAGASEVIC HOLDS TALKS WITH THAI DEPUTY COMMERCE MINISTER

LD171506 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1210 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Federal Government member and chairman of the Yugoslav commission for cooperating with developing countries Vuko Dragasevic today conferred with Thai Deputy Minister of Commerce Pairgan Yayaporna. Yayaporna heads a Thai Government delegation on a visit to Yugoslavia. During the talk, views were exchanged on possibilities for raising the level of economic relations which in volume, structure and forms considerably lag behind the actual possibilities of the two countries' economies.

The conviction was expressed that in 1981 the volume of Yugoslav-Thai commodity exchange can reach 50 million dollars enabling the developing of higher forms of economic cooperation.

INDIAN COMMUNIST DELEGATION ARRIVES, TALKS WITH DURUTOVIC

LD172314 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Communist Party of India headed by Kali Shankar Shukla, member of the Central Executive Committee, arrived here today on a visit at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

On arrival, the delegation called on Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidency. In the ensuing friendly talk, both sides expressed readiness for the promotion of cooperation between the two parties. The exchange of views also concerns the two parties' activities at the internal and external levels.

GRLICKOV BEGINS TALKS WITH ALGERIAN PARTY OFFICIAL

LD181004 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Delegations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Front Liberation Nationale (FLN) of Algeria opened talks in Belgrade today. The Yugoslav delegation is headed by member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, and the Algerian by President of the FLN Commission for International Relations Slimane Hoffmann.

In the friendly talks, the two sides exchanged information about the two parties' activities at the internal level as well as views on international problems of common interest. They devoted special attention to the activity of nonaligned countries, focuses of crisis in the world and the activities of progressive political parties and movements in Mediterranean countries.

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON KRAIGHER TOUR OF LATIN AMERICA

Talks in Panama

LD171146 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0913 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Panama, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Panama today stressed the significance of the nonaligned movement and its irreplaceable role in preserving world peace. The above was stressed in a talk between Presidency of Yugoslavia Vice-President Sergej Kraigher and Panamanian Foreign Minister Dr Carlos Osores.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia vice-president made a several-hour stopover in the Panamanian capital on his way from Peru to Nicaragua as part of his Latin-American tour. Kraigher and Osores discussed the significant possibilities offered for promoting cooperation between Yugoslavia and Panama.

Communique on Ecuador Talks

LD121244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Text] Quito, 12 Nov (TANJUG)--A joint Yugoslav-Ecuadorean communique has been issued in the capital of Ecuador in connection with the visit to the Republic of Ecuador by Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

The communique stresses that at the invitation of the president of the Republic of Ecuador, Jaime Roldos Aquilera, Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, paid an official visit to the Republic of Ecuador from 9 to 12 November.

In the talks between Vice President Kraigher and President Jaime Roldos, held in an open and friendly atmosphere, the relations between the two countries and topical international questions were discussed in which context the identity of views was confirmed with great pleasure.

Kraigher and Jaime Roldos paid tribute to President Tito's memory stressing that Tito's death represented an irreplaceable loss to mankind.

The communique notes that the Federal Executive Council member Radoje Kontic and Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, held separate talks on bilateral questions of interest to both countries with their Ecuadorean counterparts, Germanico Salgado, minister of industries, commerce and integration, and with the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mario Aleman.

The two sides agreed that the problems burdening the situation in the world, such as confrontations between the great powers, inteventionism, various forms of hegemonism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination are making the international situation worse and pose a threat to peace and security in the world. Such a situation requires all the countries, primarily the nonaligned and developing countries, to invest efforts so that the conditions for relaxation of tension can be created which will make possible the solution of the existing problems in the spirit of justice, friendship and cooperation, and do so by peaceful means based on international law.

The communique stresses the importance of the consistent application of the authentic principles of the policy of nonalignment adopted at the first nonaligned summit conference held in Belgrade in 1961. The need was stressed for the nonaligned movement to remain an independent international factor in relation to blocs and spheres of influence of the great powers.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the nonaligned ministerial conference due to be held in New Delhi in February 1981 will contribute to the consolidation of unity and solidarity among the member countries and also to overcoming the differences among them. This will allow the movement greater efficiency and a great contribution to the solution of the topical problems threatening peace in the world.

The communique confirms the support of Yugoslavia and Ecuador for the principles and objectives of the UN Charter and for the decisions and resolutions of its bodies. It also stresses the firm support for the basic principles such as peaceful solution of conflicts, prohibition of threats and use of force, nonacceptance of territorial conquests, and the respect for the sovereignty, independence and legal equality of the states.

All the countries have the inalienable right to freely determine their internal system and conditions of life, in keeping with the will of the people, without foreign interference, pressure and threats from outside, stresses the Yugoslav-Ecuadorean communique.

The support of both sides for the objectives of the new international economic system was stressed during the talks and so was the need to continue the efforts to implement in practice its objectives as a way to give life to the aspirations of the developing countries and to the efforts to democratize international relations.

Mutual agreement was reached on the consolidation of reciprocal cooperation and coordination between the nonaligned and other developing countries. Concern was expressed over the continuation of the armament race.

The two sides agreed that the existing problems in Central America and the Caribbean, in the Middle East, in Namibia, the conflict between Iraq and Iran, the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, as well as in other parts of the world, beset by international conflicts, must be resolved in keeping with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of regional organizations without outside interference and with the participation of all directly interested parties.

During the talks the Ecuadorean side informed the Yugoslav one about the activities of the Andean group of countries and about the significance and application of its "Charter of Conduct." The Yugoslav side made a positive assessment of the principles upon which this document is based, pointed out its broader significance for the implementation of cooperation among the developing countries, which will also contribute to the efforts made by the nonaligned movement.

In making a positive assessment of the relations between Yugoslavia and Ecuador and pointing out the prospects of the development of their cooperation, the two sides agreed that it is necessary to strengthen trade between them and pave the way for new aspects of mutual economic cooperation, so as to increase it both quantitatively and qualitatively. Both sides expressed their interest in discussing the possibility of promotion of economic cooperation in various sectors by setting up mixed enterprises and in concluding an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. In this sense they expressed their expectation that the first meeting of the mixed Yugoslav-Ecuadorean Commission for Economic Cooperation, due to be held soon, will provide a favorable opportunity to devise adequate measures in order to intensify and diversify a more balanced commodity exchange, promote industrial cooperation and joint investments, financial cooperation, as well as the strengthening of cultural, technical and scientific cooperation between Yugoslavia and Ecuador on which an agreement was signed in the course of this visit.

Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, thanked President Jaime Roldos for cordial and friendly hospitality.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency Kraigher invited President Roldos to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

MIKULIC GIVES REPORT ON VISITS TO ETHIOPIA, PDRY

LD171928 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] A session of the Commission for International Cooperation of the League of Communists of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was held today. It was chaired by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the commission. The commission discussed and accepted the report by Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the visits to socialist Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

During the debate the orientation toward promoting cooperation between the League of Communists and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the Socialist Party of Yemen, which contributes to cooperation between our country and the afore-mentioned states, was endorsed. The commission also discussed other questions of international cooperation of the LCY.

VRHOVEC HOLDS TALKS ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN SKOPJE

LD171412 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] Skopje, 16 Nov (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, was in Skopje today. He had talks with leaders of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia on current issues of our country's foreign political activity and on the development of relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

DOLANC COMMENTS ON 'STRUGGLE' FOR STABILIZATION OF ECONOMY

LD140022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 13 Nov 80

["From Stane Dolanc's Speech at the First Session of the Serbian Coordination Committee for the Preparation of Third Congress of Yugoslav Self-Managers"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--We have all felt the need, Stane Dolanc said, that, at this time, so to speak, we should call a congress of the working class and working people of Yugoslavia. Comrade Tito expressed this initiative in his New Year's message for precisely those reasons. We have felt this need because we consider that our revolution is in a phase which is quite certainly of crucial significance for the further development of our entire society.

The congress of self-managers should express life interests and life demands, as well as experiences of building our self-managing socialist system. It should proceed from the topical political and economic situation in which our working class and working people find themselves.

I have the feeling that in our country, in view of the economic times in which we live, which are not simple--they are very complicated and will possibly be even more complicated in the future--attempts are being made by some people to make the socialist self-managing system take the blame for the economic situation in which we find ourselves. We are even in a situation in which some of our periodicals speak of the need for a change in the system; for at the moment some individuals and groups raise their heads and say that in our country there is no democracy and that they need their own journals in which to express the true aspirations about democracy. They also speak about the need to change the criminal law and so on.

We have such groups and individuals, Dolanc went on, in practically all our republics and provinces. I do not at all think that it is because of this, because of them, that we are holding the congress.

I started by wanting to say simply that here we are talking about people who in essence have never contributed anything to the development of true democracy and true freedom. When our entire Yugoslav society is fighting for the worker's position in associated labor, in production relations, so that the worker may truly dispose of the values which he creates, for them democracy, I might say even their concept of democracy, is more conservative than the concept of democracy which they use as a model. It is mainly a question of pro-Western ideas and ideas of Catholic morals and Catholic democracy which, so to speak, are founded and end on conservative ideas of interhuman relations. On the one hand, and also on the other, their ideas arise from monopolisitic tendencies that say that an intellectual is one who is in a position to understand the problems of society, to point to the development of society and so on.

But it is interesting that these various people and groups do try to link up with each other and do not hesitate to link themselves with the most reactionary circles abroad and to mainly seek a platform abroad, saying that at home they have no place in which to express their democratic aspirations.

For instance, in Slovenia they want a new journal, just as they are asking for one here. The LE MONDE correspondent reports this to his paper and then LE MONDE speaks on the front page of such things as Slovenia's not providing a new journal, without mentioning, for example, that (?in Slovenia) there are (?more) journals and more published material than in the whole of France. Only the LE MONDE correspondent does not wish to write about this. Nor does he write that the son of a man who, let us say, says so much about democracy, that is, Djilas' son, Aleksa, has emigrated and is today abroad and a member of the editorial committee of one of the Chetnik journals. The public knows little about this. So we need to be aware of the kind of democracy for which these people are fighting.

I only wanted to say that I am warning you that it would be very mistaken to think that it is because of this that we are holding the congress and that this congress might have some kind of defensive attitude. No, on the contrary, this congress should sum up the results of the development of socialist self-management in the last 10 to 15 years. It should point out what our self-managing society has achieved.

In the last 10 years we have achieved fantastic successes in material development and in the development of society as a whole. Above all, in my view, we have also achieved success in the development of self-managing socialist consciousness [words indistinct] and precisely because we have achieved such successes in development, the shortcomings and excesses in our system are even more evident I might say, that is, the slowness in functioning of our socialist self-managing system. In view of the fact that all this is happening in a delicate economic situation, partly a consequence of the nonfunctioning of the system or of certain shortcomings in its functioning and mechanism, the working class and working people seek to point out these problems and to point out that we can only go forward if we resolve these problems and overcome certain (?excess) situations and conflicts which also arise inside the development of our society. Because of this we need to truly orient ourselves democratically and realistically, in the context of preparations for the congress, toward the views, standpoints, demands and wishes of the working class and working people. We must proceed from this. It is essential to start a realistic, public and democratic (?discussion) in all environments in which our working people live and work, that is, as well as in work organizations, local communities, sociopolitical communities, social organizations, scientific institutions, schools and so on.

The self-managing relationship in Yugoslavia, Dolanc went on, is a total relationship--a global and social one--and if this is so, we must encompass (?all the elements) of this self-managing relationship and seek what our people want and demand at this moment.

Only in this way will we then be able to realistically and objectively generalize everything we hear. In this way at the congress we will be able to point, first, to successes, of which I think we can be quite proud, and to the problems, conflicts and the paths which will overcome the situation in which we find ourselves today.

It is quite certain that this congress will be under the banner of the, so to speak, struggle for the stabilization of our economy, and that it will be impossible to enter into any one of these topical spheres without a discussion of the struggle for economic stabilization. Also, if we are speaking about the struggle for economic stabilization, then we should also talk about the struggle for greater labor productivity as a whole and about the struggle for exports, which at the same time means a struggle for competitiveness on the foreign market and the correction of our foreign trade balance and a reduction of the level of indebtedness abroad. At the same time this also means economizing, as well as maximum social economies in all aspects. It also means that the struggle for such a revolutionary social action as economic stabilization is borne by the whole of society and not only by the working class and working man.

The gaps in the functioning of our self-managing system often become social excesses which can have negative, primarily political consequences and which can also have economic consequences. Often these excesses are then exploited in an attempt to prove that, on the one hand, things of this kind can take place in a self-managing society, too, and that on the other attempts are made to blame the League of Communists, political structures, officials and so on for all that, turning these things into scandals. And this does not contribute to settling and surmounting these problems. But in fact these attempts are, in essence, made to compromise either the League of Communists of individuals.

I am saying all this because there are situations at this moment in which attempts are being made in certain environments to reduce everything to these excesses and in this way to divert people's attention in essence away from those fundamental problems, from the basic struggle for stablization, for productivity, for competitiveness on the world market.

Our congress should affirm our self-managing experiences, should mobilize people and open up the real prospect concerning the way we will live tomorrow. Socialism is not a thing given as a gift either by the party or by the state, or by anyone else; it is a social relationship. We all would like this relationship to be as rich as possible and of the highest possible quality, but also a relationship we all create together with our work and only with our work.

We have held many meetings with workers in direct production. I can say that they understand these questions and that the self-managing awareness of our working people, our working class at times is higher even than that of many of those who sit on various forums. However, workers demand clarity, they demand the truth and demand that the burden of the struggle for stabilization, which will be constantly in evidence both at this congress and at the party congress in 1982, should be evenly spread out among all the categories of the population in our society.

By this I also mean the problems of the policy of taxation, of the taxation system which is unfinished, incomplete and in connection with which Comrade Kardelj asked a long time ago for changes to be made with regard to certain things which remain unchanged even today. We must change certain things in the law on prices and so on, but at the same time this congress must state that no one can change the basic components on our socialist self-managing system in this country, not that we shall not change them, but that no one can change them. There is the problem of social ownership and the problem of rewarding people according to their work that should be devloped and further worked on. Also there is the question of where we should perform a series of operations ranging from evaluation of work in favor of the direct producers at the expense of administration, management costs, and so on.

No one may change the basic principles in which the equality of our nations and nationalities is grounded; no one may change what we are fighting for and what we have inscribed in the party program--that is, that the worker-producer is the one who controls value, who creates surplus value in all fields not only of economic but also of social reproduction.

Here again we shall not defend ourselves against anybody; we shall just reaffirm our deep adherence to this principle and our will and resolve to turn these principles into reality even more fully and to state openly and clearly that we shall not allow anyone to divert us from this struggle, Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at the end of his speech.

GRLICKOV, MIKULIC ADDRESS SPLIT JOURNALISTS SEMINAR

Grlickov on International Situation

LD141520 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] Split, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--More than 200 journalists from associated labor newspapers, who are participating in a 3-day seminar held in Split on information in associated labor, today heard a long speech by LCY Central Committee Presidium member Dr Aleksandar Grlickov on relations in the international workers' movement and the attitudes of the LCY.

In a very exhaustive presentation of the international political and economic situation, Dr Aleksandar Grlickov first recalled the very complex conditions confronting the present-day world. Describing these conditions, he warned that the world is for the first time encountering several revolutions which are taking place in parallel and are intertwined, such as the scientific-technical, anticolonial, socialist and other revolutions. The world continues, Grlickov said, to face a spectacular growth of material and production forces, the gap between the developed and underdeveloped, the wealth of the North and poverty of the South, all of which are increasingly acquiring class characteristics. The world lives in conditions of increasingly more pronounced growth of socialism as a world process and of various forms of ferment both between and within the capitalist and socialist forces.

The present-day world faces conflict situations and dangers in the relations between East and West and military exacerbations with complex consequences for the problem of detente as one of the essential conditions which determine the state of present-day international relations. Pointing out the stops in the policy of detente, Grlickov recalled that owing to this, as he put it, "flowers are not blooming" for either the socialist or the capitalist forces, because the crisis of detente has in many ways given rise to a certain kind of assault by the forces more to the right.

Aleksandar Grlickov then spoke about the complexity of relations between the communist parties, conflict situations and conflicts in the world, the world's economic crisis and its varied consequences in the capitalist and socialist countries, and the LCY's relations with other communist parties and progressive movements in the world and Yugoslavia's relations with neighboring countries.

Journalists from the field of associated labor were then addressed by Dr Anton Vratusa, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who spoke about topical political and economic developments in the world and about the foundations of the policy of nonalignment. Journalists will also be addressed today by Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Dr Marjan Rezic.

Mikulic on Nationalities, Development

LD151022 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke at the Split seminar for journalists from associated labor newspapers. Here are short excerpts from his report:

[Begin Mikulic recording] We have to constantly bear in mind the fact that the national question is a dynamic one and that national equality and equality between the socialist republics and provinces are achieved in the course of resolving all the questions which inevitably manifest themselves both in the federation and in the socialist republics and provinces in the course of society's development.

Statist-bureaucratic trends have not been suppressed and constitute a real source for the reproduction of the nationalist dangers already referred to. If there is no conscious action of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations during the process of consultation and of harmonization of views on settling questions of interest to several organizations of associated labor in the socialist republics and provinces, there exists the possibility of politicization of partial interests and of unjustified confrontation between them. The recent past has shown that such situations are exploited by nationalist elements for the purpose of chauvinistic activities and that this kind of ideology can also penetrate the League of Communists and its organs.

Similar consequences can also occur when, in searching for suitable methods and resources for the realization of adopted policy and of more rapid development of the economically underdeveloped republics and of the Province of Kosovo, they keep quiet about the results achieved up to now in the development of all the socialist republics and provinces--and these are truly impressive--or they ignore the social, economic and political consequences which will ensue unless the relative differences in their levels of economic development are reduced. [end recording]

Having emphasized that agreements are the best way of satisfying as far as possible the interests of all in current circumstances, and that these agreements should be carried out in the relevant organs, Branko Mikulic said:

[Begin Mikulic recording] This presupposes that the interests of all have been heard and considered with the necessary degree of attention and on an equal footing and that no one could insist exclusively that his own views and attitudes are the only correct ones. Struggling for the realization of the leading ideopolitical and cohesive role of the League of Communists in society, communists should strive in all circumstances for a higher awareness of the fact that individual interests can only be considered efficiently and satisfied in the best way by means of the method of their harmonization, and not by interference and confrontation with the interests of other and with the general and joint interest.

In his time, Lenin wrote that nothing holds back development and consolidation of proletarian class solidarity as much as national injustice. And, as Lenin says, the members of a small nation are most sensitive to and hurt by the feeling of equality, or the violation of that equality [words indistinct] and the violation of this equality by their comrade proletarians.

Therefore organized socialist forces, including the press, radio and television, need to affirm even more our individual and joint material, social, political and national interests, and to stress that with the method of agreement-making we achieve agreement on solving open questions. And they should not overemphasize incipient differences in views in the course of coordinating viewpoints, for example, between the republics and provinces, on certain issues. We need to develop and strengthen consciousness of the fact that we should meet each other half-way, but not in mutual confrontation and in a state of unjustified suspicion and distrust. Compromises are necessary, in particular in coordinating our individual wishes and ambitions and in bringing them into line with the real possibilities.

Any possible undermining of the political atmosphere on the basis of those ambitions could lead us into great dangers, including an escalation of reactionary nationalism and chauvinism. Of course, we should not make compromises in our society's political orientations of developing on the bases of socialist self-management, equality of the nations of the socialist republics and provinces and the policy of nonalignment, nor should we make concessions which might lead us into a situation in which we are half-way toward building and implementating the socialist economic system in accordance with the constitution and Law on Associated Labor. [end recording]

Further on Mikulic

LD141502 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0719 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Split, 14 Nov (TANJUG)--"We shall have to continue to bear in mind for a long time yet the fact that the nationalities question is a dynamic one and that national equality, and equality among the socialist republics and provinces, are achieved in the course of resolving all the questions which inevitably manifest themselves both in the federation and in the socialist republics and provinces in the course of society's development," Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his speech at the Split seminar for journalists from associated labor newspapers.

Speaking about the self-managing system and the further consolidation of the equality of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Mikulic recalled that Yugoslav communists were among the first--if not actually the first--in the world to develop the group of questions concerning the dialectical unity of class and national components into a complete theory and concrete political program. The Yugoslav Communist Party has constantly involved itself, especially since the national liberation struggle, in the resolution of topical tasks in the field of intranational relations and has continued to update them and also the struggle for the equality of nations and nationalities of the socialist republics and provinces. In this connection the League of Communists has had to overcome various forms of misunderstanding and resistance in its own ranks, including in the postwar period, and had to wage a struggle against nationalist phenomena in society.

Speaking about economic difficulties, Branko Mukulic warned that there is no reason why we should dramatize our situation. On the contrary, we must, without any stress and prejudice, encourage organized discussions on certain problems which we are facing in our socioeconomic development. This applies, for instance, to the causes of the disruptions in the goods-money ratio on the market and its degradation, which is reflected in inflation and the shortage of a number of vital products, in regional isolationism and undermining the unity of the Yugoslav market and in the cessation of some of its primary economic functions, in particular in respect of the market's influence on the adoption of decisions on investment.

It should be determined quite objectively why the material structure of our economy has continued to worsen for nearly 2 decades now, with the resulting increase in its dependence on foreign countries; why the process of pooling labor and resources on the basis of income is proceeding slowly and to what extent this is influenced by the existing solutions in the economic system and economic policy, for instance in primary distribution, and to what extent this is the consequence of the influence exercized by factors outside associated labor, of too much stress being laid on partial interest, which is so egotistical and false that it objectively causes damage even to those who advocate it and not only to others but also to the common and general interest.

We should discover why the adopted system of planning does not function, and find out the cause of a certain halt in the strengthening of self-managing socioeconomic relations, especially the role of the working man in decision-making on the policy of reproduction in society's entire policy in the conditions which have opened up a quite clear longterm prospect for the development of society on the basis of socialist self-management; what has happened with the subjective factor, in particular with the realization of the role of the League of Communists in the system; whether this factor has acclimatized itself to the conditions which are in many ways new to it; where are the causes to be found of the social differentiation in society on the basis of acquisition of funds outside work; what are the shortcomings of our tax system; what inspection organs we have and how they are functioning, and so forth, Branko Mikulic said in conclusion.

BAKARIC RECEIVES COMMUNITY DELEGATION IN ZAGREB

LD171648 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Dr Vladimir Bakaric, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Presidium, today received a delegation of the Gornji Grad local community in Zagreb where he has his permanent residence. Members of the delegation conveyed to Dr Bakaric their genuine pleasure from his closest fellow citizens over his successful recovery following a lengthy medical treatment and their wishes for his earliest return to daily business. During their visit, members of the delegation briefed Vladimir Bakaric on the current work of their local community and of its sociopolitical organizations.

NARODNA ARMIJA APPRAISES ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE EXERCISES

AU162052 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2156 6 Nov 80 p 1

[M. Pantelic commentary: "After the 'Nothing Must Surprise Us' Exercise: Vitality of Defense Confirmed"]

[Text] The mass all-people's defense and social self-protection exercises were concluded toward the end of October. Although they each had different names ("Nothing Must Surprise Us," "United in Defense and Protection" and "All in Defense and Protection"), they all confirmed more than ever before the defense preparedness of our working people and citizens. According to conclusions of responsible people, the exercises demonstrated the high awareness, vigilance and good training of the individuals, teams and units.

During this entire year the Yugoslavs were learning, training and preparing to defend what they are and what they want to be. Some were doing it with rifles, some with bandages and some as firefighters, but they were all doing it with will and conviction, that is, all of them ranging from Pioneers to octogenarians.

It was a unique lineup of several million defenders.

And it is possible without any reservations to reach the following basic conclusion for all these exercises: There can be no surprise. The concept of our all-people's defense foresees that this is how it must be and, as we see, it has been confirmed this year also. This is true because, in addition to the strong armed forces, the modern army and territorial defense, the other component of all-people's defense and social self-protection--the so-called area component--the broadest and numerically strongest defense basis has been trained and prepared. That basis is also able, if it becomes necessary, to take its positions and assume its wartime tasks within 1 or 2 hours at the most, and firmly link together armed struggle and mass resistance into an impregnable Yugoslav defense line.

The mass and exemplary defense readiness of our working people and citizens attests to something else that is also very important, to the socialization of defense preparations. True, there is still much work to be done in this respect by all those who concern themselves with all-people's defense and particularly by the LCY, because its responsibility for the country's defense is the greatest.

Our country's defense strength is great. And it also has been mobilized: It has already made great steps from the stage of organization to the stage of practical preparations, that is, training for the most difficult conditions. But, of course, the training is very complex: The training grounds and positions are spread throughout the country and, as we have said, there are several million defenders. For that reason in the near future training will be carried out more frequently and for shorter periods and it will be organized and financed by the people themselves within their local communities, basic organizations of associated labor and work organizations. It is not only a step further in socializing society's defense preparations, but in this manner our entire defense readiness will also be greater.

Naturally, there are things that should be perfected in the leadership and command of all-people's defense to ensure that the leadership and command of such a great battle line will be adapted to specific objective conditions and that it will become more effective.

And there is something else concerning the place of war leadership and all-people's defense and social self-protection committees: The experiences of this year show that what is best is to ensure that the war leadership will be at those places from which it is easiest to direct combat actions and that the committees will be where they will be able to perform their tasks in the best possible manner.

It is certain that the mass defense exercises in coming years will provide more precise answers to this important questions, because our defense system is being ceaselessly perfected. The defense trends in life cannot be compressed into any kind of models. Thus life constantly offers new and better solutions that are always in accord with the dialectical development of our socialist self-managing society and thus also in accord with our entire defense potential.

It is here too, that the extraordinary vitality of our all-people defense lies.

NARODNA ARMIJA DESCRIBES TERRITORIAL DEFENSE SUPPLY SYSTEM

AU162121 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2156 6 Nov 80 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Supplying Territorial Units: To Positions by Secret Channels"]

[Summary] "During the recent defense exercise we were able to convince ourselves that the rear supply system for Territorial Defense units is well organized and is operating smoothly. First of all it is completely separate from combat units and therefore the Territorial Defense battalions did not have to be concerned whether they would receive their food, ammunition, general and other supplies. They concerned themselves exclusively with planning and executing combat actions." All their supplies were regularly delivered at designated times to designated locations even when they found themselves in temporarily occupied territory.

The following shows how the territorial rear supply system functioned: Jordan Daskalovski, who is an educational worker in peace but has officer rank in Territorial Defense, operated a rear collection point for various supplies for several units. [paragraph continues]

He knows all the people on whom his wartime tasks depend, as well as the tactical operations of the territorial units in his care. "Nearly 10 warehouses storing everything from food, ammunition and weapons to water are located deep underground in a forest. The area is dry and therefore even water must be supplied to units. Officer Aleksandar Ricovski was responsible for food supplies, including deliveries to the warehouse and shipments to units. Trajce Vasilev took care of the mixed supplies warehouses, Djoko Klincarski was responsible for the mechanical workshop and so forth. Each of the warehouses has its manager and a few workers."

The rear supply collection points have no assigned war location. They are always located near the units which they supply, that is, where they can easily obtain their supplies from secret storage points or from work organizations. "Sufficient food supplies for several days are always stored in the forest to be used in the event that the secret channels from producers or secret stores to some unit become for some reason inoperative. Similar supplies of ammunition, fuel and everything that may affect the combat readiness and strength of units are kept in a similar way in the forest." It is difficult to determine the routes of trucks and tractors carrying supplies from collection points or the nature and quantity of whatever they carry on their return trips. "But their routes are always safe and well secured." They also change them frequently to follow the combat movements of territorial units.

Bread and other food supplies are purchased in villages if the exercise is held in an area near some villages. "But this particular exercise was held in a territory where there were no villages or even single houses within a distance of some 20 kilometers." Tractors were used for transport instead of trucks, which could not operate in the diffucult territory. And where even tractors could not pass, supplies were delivered on horseback.

SERBIAN PARTY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES AGRUCULTURE, FOOD PRODUCTION

AU171911 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Summary] At its session today the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia discussed the current problems of the socioeconomic development of agriculture, a topic that will be discussed at one of the future sessions of the Central Committee this year. "As significant as the positive trends that have taken place in the food production may be, they are insufficient to meet the increased demand, the Presidium noted. According to the appraisals made at the session, the growth of the total primary production, especially in land cultivation, is considerably below planned growth." Drago Tankosic and Nikola Obrstarevic report on the session:

In his introductory report at the session Slobodan Milivojevic, republican secretary for agriculture, pointed out that the structure of production has been changed in the agroindustrial complex. Large plantation fruit orchards and vineyards have been developed, the production and processing of industrial crops have increased and considerable funds have been invested to develop livestock breeding and modernize slaughterhouses, dairies and sugar refineries. "However, despite all that, a shortage of individual agricultureal food products continues to be felt in some large cities, according to Milivojevic, the shortage is due to an insufficiently developed system of contracting for the delivery of these products prior to planting. As stated, neither the individual agricultural producer nor the agricultural organizations know to whom they can offer their market surplus." Stressing the need for a more resolute orientation toward developing the agroindustrial complex as a whole, Milivojevic said:

[Begin Milivojevic recording] The present level of development of the social sector of agriculture points to "the need for a more resolute orientation toward a further economic strengthening and self-managing organization of the social sector within the agroindustrial complex especially in Serbia proper. The social sector must be the basic factor of a more rapid development of the implementation of agrarian policy." In this connection the communists working in the social sector must wage a struggle for more efficient business operations and economical utilization of labor and resources. The development programs of the social sector must be based on high harvest yield per hectare and on the struggle for high labor productivity and higher income per worker.

"The state and the exploitation of agricultural land in the republic represent a very serious economic and political problem, such current trends as those of reducing the acreage of arable land, further fragmentation of small landholdings of peasant households, retaining farms with large numbers of small and widely dispersed fields, serious stagnation in increasing the acreage of arable land of social farms, inefficient exploitation of arable land and the like, demand radical measures in land policy. For that purpose it is necessary to prevent further abandonment and insufficient production utilization of arable land and all further reduction of the acreage of arable land through its utilization for other nonproduction purposes." The acreage of arable land in the social sector of agriculture must be increased and specific programs and measures must be prepared for that purpose by organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities. "That need is all the greater because large production facilities of the food industry have been developed in many parts of the republic and they require permanent and reliable sources of raw materials." The growing demand for various food products in cities and the need to increase the exports of food products also require stable food production that must be ensured among other things by expanding the acreage of socially owned arable land. [end recording]

Speaking during the discussion following Milivojevic's report, Dobrivoje Vidic said the reports prepared for the Presidium's session were very good and said that they contributed to a clearer perception of the problems that must be solved in the coming period. "Bosko Krunic criticized the method of price formation in which the state organs now play the main role." Dusan Ckrebic pointed out that communal assemblies rarely discuss agriculture and tend to devote their main attention to industrial development.

[Begin Ckrebic recording] A very developed private sector and a very small social sector in agriculture are a specific characteristic of Serbia proper without provinces. For that reason, "We must adopt very clear realistic and political views on the issues connected with this situation. What is involved here are the problems of consolidation of landholdings, land purchases, firm ties between the individual producers and the social sector and changes in the land maximum in highland areas." [end recording]

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC DELEGATION--Yesterday the Yugoslav state economic delegation headed by Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Commission for Cooperation with Developing Countries, returned to Belgrade from its visits to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Peru, where it held talks on possibilities for advancing economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the four countries concerned. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere and opened possibilities for expanding all forms of economic cooperation through greater and more organized actions of Yugoslav organizations of associated labor in the markets of the four Latin American countries. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 80 p 8 AU]

FRENCH COMMUNIST DELEGATION--Ferhad Kotoric, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, last night held talks with a study delegation of the French Communist Party headed by (Paul Boquara), member of the party Central Committee, which arrived on the same day on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 80 p 3 AU]